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In this issue, eight authors turn their attention to the problems of urban America. Can the cities solve their pressing social, political, and economic problems? Is the urban crisis real? Tracing the rise of the. American cities, our introductory article points out that the urban dilemma has deep roots, and "the history which has brought about our current crisis does not seem likely to be reversed soon."

The Historical Roots of Our Urban Crisis

By JAMES F. RICHARDSON
Associate Professor of History and Urban Studies, University of Akron

MANY OF THE ISSUES that we now call "urban problems" or the "urban crisis" have been with us for at least a century and in some instances much longer. In the 1840's and 1850's, New York, Boston and Philadelphia suffered from poverty, slums, pollution, inadequate education, crime in the streets, an overloaded transportation and communications network and administrations seemingly overwhelmed by the pace of change, just as they do today. American cities grew fairly slowly until 1840; only in the census of that year did the urban proportion reach 10 per cent of the total population. Twenty years later, this figure had risen to almost 20 per cent. By the 1840's, the United States economy had advanced to the point where it could support larger urban agglomerations, and urbanization in turn fueled further economic development.

Cities could grow only by attracting people from the countryside, whether from rural America, the fields of Ireland, or the villages of Germany, and surely one of the great his-toric functions of cities has been to transform rural man into urban man. In its Model Cities application, Newark, New Jersey, described itself as having served over the decades as "a basic training camp for the poor." Most big American cities have performed the same function through much of their history. In the 1840's and 1850's, they received large numbers of bewildered country boys and girls escaping the back-breaking labor and deadening isolation of the farm, penniless refugees from Ireland's ravaged potato patches, and village craftsmen pinched by the spread of machine-made products pouring out of Manchester's factories.

William Bradford's description of what the Pilgrims found in 1620 has long moved readers:

> . . . they had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies; no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. . . . Besides what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men—and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not.

But what of the nineteenth century pilgrims who came to the city? What did they find? A forest of masts along New York's waterfront rather than a stand of virgin timber; not wild beasts and wild men but indifference and often contempt. Most established urban dwellers either ignored the newcomers or mocked them for their ignorance and their strange ways.

THE PROFIT MOTIVE

The quality of the reception committee proved symptomatic of how America's cities provided for their expanding populations. Most established urbanites looked upon their cities primarily as places of individual economic opportunity; they judged proposals by the standard of whether the changes would promote further growth and prosperity. Only those cities which lost in the urban rivalry for railroad terminals and factories stressed the pleasantness of their environment and the gracious living of their inhabitants. Quality of life became a loser's argument. Even those men and women who pressed for the establishment of cultural institutions and parks asserted that they would promote prosperity by making their city more attractive to businessmen.

In the absence of a competing elite like a hereditary aristocracy, businessmen and real estate speculators made the key decisions on the internal development of their cities. During the colonial period, the larger American towns retained many of the economic controls characteristic of medieval Europe, but these regulations gradually disappeared in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the 1830's, cities relied on the individual energies and initiative of their citizens to promote prosperity and social well-being. Men could band together in voluntary associations to encourage and stimulate railroad construction, but they gave little thought to government control of land use or to the imposition of building standards.

Street patterns, especially the New York plan of 1811 and those modeled on it, encouraged the rapid and speculative development of land for private purposes. The commissioners responsible for New York's gridiron deliberately rejected any aesthetic considerations. They disdained any form of "embellishment," on the grounds that "a city is to be composed of the habitations of men, and that strait sided and right angled houses are the most cheap to build, and the most convenient to live in." Furthermore, streets and avenues intersecting at right angles with lots of 25' frontage and 100' depth made the sale and speculative transfer of real estate as simple as possible. American cities treated their waterfronts as prime commercial land; they did not consider the recreational possibilities of coastlines and river banks.

Before the Civil War, cities and congestion could be regarded as synonomous terms. Cities almost by definition meant an intense level of economic activity in a relatively small area. Although steam had already begun to conquer long distances, technology had not as yet made much headway on the problem of moving goods and men within cities. Wagons carried materials and most men walked to work. Although horse-drawn street railways did provide some public transportation beginning in the 1850's, the cost precluded many workers from using them. The scarcity of land within easy access of the docks, counting houses and shops put a premium on high density and intense development. Newcomers crowded into any structure that would provide shelter, and land values and the profit motive combined to pack large numbers of people into small areas. Cities like New York and Philadelphia grew so rapidly that no amount of conversion of existing structures could house the expanding population; the way was therefore open for the notorious tenements, buildings deliberately designed and constructed as slum housing. There was no money to be made in providing decent housing for the poor, but there might be great profit in housing them badly.

Thus contemporaries thrilled to their cities' growth in numbers and overall prosperity but feared such by-products of rapid urbanization as increased mortality and widespread pov

erty. To a considerable extent, they convinced themselves that social problems resulted from the depravity of the lower classes. Robert Hartley of New York's Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and like-minded men and women combined a humanitarian concern for the sufferings of the poverty-stricken with a fear of social upheaval. Their answer to the problems of poverty and family disintegration was to urge the immigrant poor to adopt the precepts and values of middle class Protestantism. The reformers' dealings with their beneficiaries combined class condescension with sympathy. Hartley and Charles Loring Brace of the Children's Aid Society sometimes indicated that moral regeneration would be impossible in the urban milieu of streets, saloons and drunken parents. Said Hartley, "Escape then from the city—for escape is the only recourse against the terrible ills of beggary; and the further you go, the better." Brace conceived of the purpose of his organization as relocating the offspring of the "squalid poor" on farms for "moral disinfection."

SCHOOLS AS SOCIAL CONTROLS

If urban problems could not be exported but had to be solved in the city, perhaps formal education in a system of public schools could provide the answer. As Michael Katz has shown in his *The Irony of Early School Reform,* public schools did not result from a democratic upsurge which demanded tax-supported education as a means of equalizing opportunity; rather, the establishment of schools, especially secondary schools, represented an imposition by middle and upper class groups upon generally indifferent or hostile farmers and workers.[1] To its promoters, education, hopefully, would stimulate economic growth and ensure social harmony by teaching children the skills and, more important, the character traits of diligence, punctuality and respect for material success and one's betters that would make them productive and satisfied workers.

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[1] Michael Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

Economic growth would mean more factories and more crowded cities. Contemporaries appalled by the negative consequences of urban growth in the spreading slums hoped that the schools would provide the social control lacking in the families and neighborhoods of the poor. Sober and respectable teachers would supplant drunken and improvident parents as models of adult behavior. The schools, then, were not so much concerned with the development of the full powers of their students as they were with processing the human raw material of an orderly, capitalistic society. The schoolmen found to their chagrin, however, that the incidence of poverty and crime grew just as fast if not faster than the school population.

If public education could not make the cities safe and orderly, maybe police forces could. In the 1830's and 1840's, New York, Philadelphia and Boston suffered from frequent riots and street disorders. These disturbances, which had their roots in religious, racial and ethnic conflict, raised fears of anarchy and political and social upheaval. The authorities responded by establishing organized, and later uniformed, police forces whose job it was to curb riots and maintain order. The responsibilities of the new departments also included the detection and, hopefully, the prevention of crime and the regulation of public morality.

The legislation creating crimes without victims, such as laws forbidding the saloons to open on Sunday, put intense political pressure on the police, who found it impossible to satisfy all the elements of their diverse constituencies. Those who wanted to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath demanded that the saloons be closed while the dealers and drinkers demanded that they be permitted to open. Police performance that pleased one group alienated the other. In addition, such laws made possible a systematic and pervasive pattern of graft and corruption which has persisted in many American cities to the present day. New York and Chicago had repeated scandals and short-lived, ineffective reform movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We still

have scandals, as witness the recent *New York Times* series on police protection and payoffs on gambling, although other matters seem more pressing than identifying and punishing crooked plainclothesmen.

American cities did respond creatively to some of the challenges posed by their rapid growth. The development of water supply and sewage systems inhibited the spread of epidemics and raised the level of public health, although many years elapsed between the introduction of these improvements and their extension to some of the poorer areas of the cities. By the early twentieth century, infant mortality rates began to decline and cities could add to their populations by natural increase, the excess of births over deaths. Urban transit facilities such as horse-drawn streetcars and, later, electric trolleys, elevated railways and subways made more land available for urban development and reduced population densities at least for those of more than average income.

STATE INTERFERENCE

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, cities often suffered detailed interference in their affairs by their respective state legislatures. As creatures of their states, cities had only those governing powers specifically granted by the constitution or the legislature. Most city charters gave severely limited authority to the municipal government, and in many instances the state could intervene to change the charter at any time without reference to the officeholders or the voters of the city.

Legislatures manipulated municipal government for partisan advantage or to impose the values of rural areas and small towns upon heterogeneous cities. At one point in the mid-1860's, New York City's police, fire, health and liquor control departments were all under state commissioners appointed either by the governor or the majority of the legislature. Often cities could not even control their own franchises, and Illinois set the terms for street railways in Chicago. The Ohio Constitution of 1851 stipulated that all legislation concerning cities had to be class legislation, that is, no law could apply only to one city. The legislature escaped this confinement by creating minute classes—i.e., cities of between 35,000 and 35,200 at the last census—which enabled it to single out particular cities in violation of the spirit of the constitution.

Beginning in the 1890's, cities secured "home rule" provisions in many state constitutions which prohibited arbitrary interference by the state in city affairs. The New York Constitution of 1894 required either the approval of the mayor of a city or a two-thirds vote of the city legislature for any statute directed toward a particular city. Ohio in 1912 adopted a home rule amendment which permitted cities to write their own charters, and other states also granted their cities a greater measure of independence.

At the turn of the century, cities finally began to create effective controls over building and land use. Lawrence Veiller led the fight for a new tenement house law for New York City in 1901, which established humane minimum standards for multiple dwellings. Veiller strenuously opposed public housing; his solution to the problem was adequate legal control over the private builder. However, as land values and construction costs rose after World War I, the private market could no longer build for the bottom half of income earners under any circumstances. In 1916, New York City adopted a comprehensive zoning code and other cities soon followed. The Supreme Court upheld the rights of cities to control their land use in this fashion. However, New York's code permitted an absurd intensity of residential and commercial development. The entire population of the United States in 1900 could be legally housed in the city, according to the code, while the areas set aside for business could accommodate 300 million workers. Other cities were similarly generous in their provisions for commercial space. Cities like New York and Los Angeles permitted numerous exceptions and variances to the already loose control over land uses. Private developers and real estate men soon learned

how to use zoning and the various procedures to secure variances to protect and advance their own interests.

POSITIVE CITY PLANNING

At best, zoning was negative; its purpose was to prevent incompatible land uses and to prevent undesirable development patterns. Positive city planning, the conscious improvement of the city, was manifested in the parks and boulevard movement of the nineteenth century. New York authorized the construction of its famous Central Park in 1853. In subsequent decades, especially in the 1880's and 1890's, cities built systems of parks sometimes linked by parkways or boulevards. Frederick Law Olmsted, one of the architects of Central Park, secured commissions from cities all over the country to design their park systems.

The movement received further impetus from the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. The nation's leading landscape and building architects gathered under the leadership of Daniel Burnham to design and build the famous White City for the exposition. The architects agreed upon a uniform cornice line and, with the exception of Louis Sullivan's Transportation Building, all the structures were classical in form. Visitors to the fair were overwhelmed by the aesthetic impact of a harmonious development of the relations between lagoon, streets and buildings. Unlike the usual urban commission, in which the architect had to accept the given surroundings, all the spatial elements could be composed effectively.

The White City and the earlier parks and boulevard construction led to the "city beautiful" movement. The great railroad terminals, like Pennsylvania Station in New York and Union Station in Washington, were hallmarks of the city beautiful, as were the civic and cultural centers built in San Francisco and Cleveland. The plans and programs stressed either the beautification or the greater efficiency of the central business district; they did not concern themselves with housing or neighborhood subcenters.

Efficiency was a key theme in many areas of American life about 1910. Municipal reformers stressed the importance of efficient government; businessmen and professionals objected not so much to the graft of the political machines but to their inefficiency. Education and learning often held a low priority in the minds of administrators and school boards, who in turn reflected the values of the dominant groups in their respective communities. The cult of efficiency gripped school officials just as it did conservationists, who approached nature as a set of resources to be utilized efficiently rather than as a balance to be preserved.

But in retrospect, despite evident problems, the years immediately preceding World War I seem something like a golden age of the American city. Cities could govern themselves; they were still growing and prospering in a period of rapid nationwide economic expansion. Many men and women of talent, dedication and energy were working to making their cities better places to live for all their residents. They placed their hopes in deconcentration and decongestion and welcomed any advance that would disperse the urban population. In effect, suburbanization would solve the most serious urban problems, those resulting from overcrowding. Cities had always grown by the outthrust of industry and people from the center of the city toward the periphery. Downtown residences gave way to stores, warehouses and factories as the central business district encompassed more and more land. With better transportation facilities, the well-to-do could escape the crowding and pollution of downtown. By 1880, the process of growth had encompassed so much space that the census of that year recognized that New York City was the center of a metropolitan area and that, in a functional sense, areas like Brooklyn

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Noting that "what seems to be most desperately needed is a set of goals for urban America," this specialist concludes that "The difficulty with most, if not all, federal programs for the cities is that they are not based on common assumptions (or on any assumptions at all) about what it is that ails American cities and, more importantly, what it is that American cities are to become."

Federal-City Relations in the 1960's

By Vernon M. Goetcheus
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

THE DECADE OF the 1960's saw the United States national government affirm that local problems—particularly those problems of the large cities which taken together make up what is known as the "urban crisis"—are truly national problems, and that the national government must join with other levels of government in the federal system in a long-range, systematic and cooperative effort to solve these grave problems.

It must be emphasized that when one speaks of national programs for the cities, one is speaking primarily of programs which provide the cities with federal funds to undertake some new activity or to underwrite some existing function; and when one speaks of distributing money to the cities for these specific purposes, one is speaking primarily of categorical or conditional grants-in-aid.

Generally speaking, the results of the national government's affirmation of responsibility for local problems were an expansion or extension of existing urban-oriented programs; the initiation of a number of new programs distributing aid to the cities; an increase in the overall amount of federal funds available to localities; a change in the distribution of money among major program categories; and the proliferation of direct contact and relations between the national government and the cities.

Federal aid for the cities or for their residents was not a totally new phenomenon in the past 10 or 12 years. Daniel P. Moynihan is not alone when he rightly points out that there are hardly any federal programs that do not in some indirect way benefit or affect city dwellers.[1] Moreover, programs that involve federal assistance to state governments —and these date back to the nineteenth century—almost invariably pass along or trickle down some funds to the local governments.

Direct federal-city relationships seem to have originated with the emergency relief and public works programs of the New Deal. Subsequently, in 1937, Congress established a program of grants to local bodies for low-rent housing. Following World War II, Congress provided for direct grants-in-aid to local governments for airport construction (1946) and for urban renewal (1949). At the end of the 1950's these were still the only major national programs authorizing direct grants to local governments, although the era of President Dwight Eisenhower had witnessed the start of a number of grant-in-aid programs for the states, notably the interstate highway program set in motion in 1956.

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[1] Daniel P. Moynihan, "Towards a National Urban Policy," *Violent Crime*, in "Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence" (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1969), p. 9.

A rapid expansion in the number of grant-in-aid programs for state and local governments followed in the wake of John F. Kennedy's inauguration as President in 1961. Of the 95 program categories in existence in early 1969, 39 were established between 1961 and 1966.[2] At the same time, the total dollar amount of federal grants-in-aid to state and local governments jumped from $6.9 billion in fiscal 1960 to $18.9 billion in fiscal 1963.[3]

If one focuses solely on the amount of money flowing to the cities, the Bureau of the Budget estimates that in 1961 $3.9 billion of total federal aid to state and local governments was spent in standard metropolitan statistical areas (S.M.S.A.'s) as opposed to $14 billion in 1969. The Department of Housing and Urban Development estimates that the total federal financial commitment (including loans and insurance activities) in urban areas in 1964 was $21 billion compared to an estimated $44 billion in 1971.

Even with the clear recognition by 1965 or so that United States cities were in deep trouble, the Congress and the executive branch did not undertake a searching review of existing grant-in-aid programs nor did they launch any startlingly innovative programs to deal with urban ills. The many programs of the 1940's and 1950's remained on the books and received, in most cases, increased appropriations: the highway construction program; the public housing and urban renewal programs; the hospital construction program; the public assistance program (funds for which are channeled through the states to the local communities which administer the national program according to federal and state guidelines as tempered by local norms and mores[4]).

Certainly many new programs aimed directly or indirectly at the human or physical development of the cities were formulated and implemented during the past decade: manpower development and training (1962); aid to urban mass transportation (1964); the community action and other programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; aid to elementary and secondary education (1965); medical assistance (1965); rent supplements (1965); metropolitan development and model cities (1966); aid to local law enforcement agencies (1968); rental housing assistance and homeownership assistance (1968); and open housing legislation (1968). These new programs, however, were in most cases firmly rooted in the New Deal-Fair Deal tradition of the Democratic party and were first proposed in one form or another by Democratic members of Congress during the 1950's.[5]

Besides making more money available to the cities, the adoption of these new programs resulted in a reallocation of federal funds among various functional categories. In 1960, the lion's share of federal aid to state and local governments, 43 per cent, supported commerce and transportation, e.g., highway construction; the second largest percentage, 33 per cent, went to public assistance programs. Education, housing, and health received 10, 4, and 3 per cent respectively.

The estimates for fiscal 1971 for all these functions are as follows: public assistance, 28 per cent; commerce and transportation, 19 per cent; education and manpower, 17 per cent; health, 14 per cent (the increase here is largely due to the Medicare and medicaid programs); community development and housing, 11 per cent. New Frontier and Great Society programs, at the very least, have meant a bigger share of the federal pie for functions relating to the maintenance and development of human resources.

TRADITIONAL GRANTS-IN-AID

By and large, the new programs of the 1960's relied upon the traditional adminis-

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[2] James A. Maxwell, *Financing State and Local Governments* (rev. ed.; Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1969), p. 52.

[3] All figures for federal spending are for fiscal years and, unless otherwise noted, are taken from *Special Analyses, Budget of the United States, Fiscal Year 1971* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), especially Special Analysis O.

[4] See Martha Derthick, "Intercity Differences in Administration of the Public Assistance Program: The Case of Massachusetts," *City Politics and Public Policy,* ed. James Q. Wilson (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968).

[5] James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1968).

trative procedures developed under older grant-in-aid programs. Funds were allocated by two means: formula grants and project grants. Formula grants distribute funds automatically on the basis of population, per capita income, or some other objective criteria and require state or local governments to provide matching funds (from 10 to 50 per cent, depending on the program). Project grants are made directly to public or private bodies, but funds are not apportioned automatically according to some formula; instead, projects are individually approved on the basis of applications made by some public or private agency. At times, project grants will provide all the funds necessary for a program. Over half the grant-in-aid authorizations using project grants were enacted between 1964 and 1966.[6]

To be eligible for any federal funds, local agencies or other bodies must meet certain requirements beyond filing an application or providing matching funds. The federal funds must be used for the specified purpose: civil service procedures must apply to employees involved in the program; a "comprehensive plan" must be filed and approved before funds are made available in many cases; accurate and complete reports must be made to the federal government at stated intervals; and so forth.

The requirements built into all grant-in-aid programs mean that local, state and federal officials must out of necessity interact frequently at all stages of program design and execution. The separate levels of government must cooperate and work with one another (although at times they clash). But this has been a characteristic of American federalism throughout its history.[7] Officials

at one level have never been able to ignore officials at another level. Thus the 1960's have seen a change in the *degree* of contact or interaction among officials at the local, state and national level, but not a change in the *kind* of relationships. (Some would say this is precisely the problem.)

It cannot be denied that the new programs initiated in the last decade have led to greater amounts of federal funds underwriting city expenditures. For example, federal grants to New York City, exclusive of those for urban renewal and transportation facilities, grew from about $95 million in fiscal 1958 to approximately $750 million ten years later, an eight-fold increase.[8] Yet Mayor John V. Lindsay and other big-city mayors are crying out for vastly greater federal outlays. This leads one to ask if all the existing federal programs have actually helped the cities to solve their urgent and pressing problems.

IMAGINARY CRISIS?

Some observers argue that, relatively speaking, the cities are much better places to live in now than they were 100, 50, or 10 years ago. Housing has been improved; transportation has been improved; the standard of living of residents of the core areas of the cities has risen remarkably. Conditions may seem to be worse today than they have been or actually are only because the expectations and standards, particularly those of the middle class, have changed faster than objective conditions in the cities have changed. If a crisis exists, in other words, it is mainly in the eyes of the beholders.

A corollary to this approach to the urban crisis is that while one can improve the comfort and convenience of city living (and this has been done), the fundamental problem— the existence in the inner city of a lower class whose basic values and behavior clash with those of the middle and upper class—cannot be solved through government intervention. Only by allowing the metropolitan marketplace to function freely (which could be encouraged by the repeal of minimum wage legislation and of mandatory school attendance laws) and only by allowing the city to develop

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[6] James L. Sundquist, *Making Federalism Work: A Study of Program Coordination at the Local Level* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1969), p. 5.

[7] See Morton Grodzins, *The American System,* ed. Daniel J. Elazar (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

[8] These figures are from Vernon M. Goetcheus, "State House and National Capitol," *Governing the City: Challenges and Options for New York,* ed. Robert H. Connery and Demetrios Caraley (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), pp. 68–75.

according to its own inexorable logic will this problem, in time, be solved.[9]

Other observers are not so satisfied with the progress of the cities or so optimistic about the future. These observers have much more confidence in the ability of government—particularly the federal government—to do something about the range of problems that seem, for whatever reason, to be making our great cities unlivable. They are, however, critical of the present programs of the national government for dealing with the urban crisis.

For example, one view of existing federal programs is that they are dealing only with the symptoms or surface manifestations of urban ills and thus can be regarded only as short-term solutions. Robert C. Wood, a former Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, argues that only a fundamental and far-reaching program of urban land reform can halt the decline of the cities.[10] Like many urbanologists who urge an attack on "basic causes," he does not discuss how this is to be done, by whom it is to be done, or whether it is practical or feasible in political terms to think it will ever be done.

Another criticism is aimed not so much at the *content* of the programs, but rather at the *level of funding* of these programs. The right mix of programs is now on the books, it is argued, but Congress has failed to fund these programs fully (the funds *appropriated* have been less than the funds *authorized*). This has consistently been the case with the model cities program ever since it became law in 1965. Stated simply, the problem is that the federal government has not been channeling enough money to the cities to allow them to remedy monumental ills.

It is suggested that federal programs have not accomplished so much as had been hoped for them because as a totality these programs represent a haphazard, uncoordinated, and sometimes contradictory effort. Many different but related criticisms are leveled at federal programs in this content. The structure of federal programs has grown in an incremental or piecemeal fashion over the past 35 years. New programs have often been adopted for the appearance of action and not because of any reappraisal of the nature of a problem or any critical analysis of existing programs and their results. These new programs have not replaced old ones, but have merely been added to the catalogue of federal aids to states and localities.

All too often, programs are narrowly conceived to deal with only one aspect of a problem; the result is a dozen programs working at the edges of a problem, but none getting to its heart. In addition, little attention is given to how programs in one area, say housing, fit or mesh with those in another area, say transportation. This has inevitably led both to overlapping efforts and to glaring contradictions in the goals of separate federal programs (e.g., moving the middle class out of the cities on modern, high-speed expressways *versus* attracting them back into the core areas with vast urban renewal projects).

As well as being uncoordinated in design, federal programs are said to be uncoordinated in administration. A score or more of Washington agencies, each jealous of its own power and responsibility and each honestly convinced of the primacy of its program for the rejuvenation of American cities, are charged with executing the vast, jerry-built structure of federal programs. These agencies tend to work against each other rather than with each other in helping the cities. Sincere efforts have been made in recent years to develop a coordinated approach to urban problems (by consolidating overlapping programs and eliminating conflicting ones; by developing a coordinated approach at the federal level, either by means of a single program like model cities—designed to attack a range of problems on a neighborhood basis—or by means of a high-level body, like the Domestic Affairs Council, in the Executive Office of the President), but the results as yet are inconclusive.

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[9] This, in abbreviated and simplified form, is the argument of Edward C. Banfield, *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown Company, 1970).

[10] Robert C. Wood, "Solving the Problem," The Radner Lectures, Columbia University, April 14, 1970.

It is also argued that federal programs are administratively uncoordinated at the local level. The state governments are often left out of the design and execution of programs; a partnership with the states can accomplish a good deal more than bilateral relationships between cities and the federal government, especially since cities are the creatures of the state and have no powers except those delegated to them by the state. Federal legislation often requires what are essentially new levels of government (or at least new units of local government)—such as the Community Action Agencies provided for in the anti-poverty program—to be set up to receive federal funds. Often these units compete or clash with local politicians and bureaucrats as well as with the regional offices of the federal agencies. Moreover, the local agencies handling one federal program may not work with (or even know about) other agencies administering similar or complementary federal programs.

Because of the way programs have piled upon programs in rapid succession during recent years, local bureaucrats may not even know about the availability of some federal funds or may ignore them because of the vast amount of paper work and red tape involved in obtaining a grant-in-aid. A simplification of procedures may be in order and the last two national administrations have been moving in that direction.[11]

Some students of urban affairs have argued that federal control over the execution of national programs designed to achieve national goals is too lax, that local communities enjoy too much autonomy in the execution of federal programs and thus consciously or unconsciously fail to carry out the program in an effective way. The national government, it is said, should take over and operate programs; this has been proposed in the case of public assistance.

In almost direct contradiction is the view that local communities and local officials know best what their problems are and are in the best position to initiate and to execute a plan of action. In this view, the federal government should adopt a policy of *deference* towards the wishes of the localities and should not rigidly apply federal standards in all cases. Existing federal programs, these critics charge, have failed to solve the urban crisis because the federal government has attempted to exercise too much control and to apply uniform national standards to cities whose problems are often unique.[12] Control from Washington must give way to local autonomy or decentralization, it is argued, and this view seems more likely to prevail in the decade ahead. The logical conclusion to this process is some form of revenue-sharing under which localities would receive federal funds with no strings attached.

Both critics and supporters of local autonomy acknowledge that in many cases local governments as well as local officials are not presently equipped to execute a well-developed and coordinated attack on urban problems or to spend federal money most efficiently. Many city officials lack the knowledge and the initiative to deal successfully with the task of making the cities more livable. Those who argue for local autonomy suggest that the federal government must stimulate local government reorganization and modernization (perhaps with federal grants); it must also aggressively promote the programs it has adopted as the means of achieving national goals, and provide local government with all kinds of technical assistance in carrying out these programs. In this way, federal programs are more likely to be effective.

FAULTY ASSUMPTIONS

In the final analysis, it matters very little whether administration is centralized or de-

[11] The last two paragraphs rely heavily on the criticisms made by Sundquist, *Making Federalism Work,* Chapter 1.

[12] This proposal is made by Sundquist, *Making Federalism Work,* Chapter 7.

Vernon M. Goetcheus will be a Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association in the 1970–1971 academic year. His teaching and research interests are in American politics, especially intergovernmental relations.

"If we are to profit from the valuable educational experience of the 1960's and not repeat some of the costly errors, a new set of guiding assumptions must be developed for the 1970's and beyond."

Urban School Reform: Educational Agenda for Tomorrow's America

By Mario D. Fantini
Program Officer, the Ford Foundation

B IG CITY SYSTEMS once regarded as exemplars of quality education have been caught in a steadily worsening spiral of decline. Applying the standard test of quality—namely, the effect that formal education has on children—urban schools are failing. The shelves are full of thorough studies depicting their shortcomings.

Cities are paying a heavy price for the decline, including a growing lack of confidence in public education. This is especially true in those parts of the city that need education most desperately—the low income neighborhoods. The city's poor, usually black and/ or other minorities, have little choice but the public schools for their children's education. In urban centers, black populations are increasingly becoming majorities, if not in total city population, then certainly in city school population. In Washington, D. C., for example, over 93 per cent of the school population is black. In New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, the figures are well over 50 per cent. However, in a society which will be 70 to 80 per cent urban during the coming decades, when we speak of urban education we are really talking about American education.

The continuous denial of quality education to urban residents leads to a cycle of frustration with severe consequences. The "clients" or "consumers" of the urban public schools —students, parents, communities—are in-creasingly protesting the failure. No teacher, no parent, no citizen, no business or industry, no public official can rest easy while this erosion continues. A gradual disconnection among the parties that make up public education in our cities is taking place. Already the conditions in certain cities have reached a state of deterioration in which the disconnection has turned to open conflict between community and school.

As the crisis in urban education accelerates, so will the attempts to rectify the problem. During the 1960's, several patterns for urban school improvement developed.

Compensatory Education. This pattern is currently the most prevalent and dates back to the Higher Horizons Project, the Ford Foundation-sponsored Great Cities–Gray Areas Project, Title I projects under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, More Effective Schools in New York City, and so forth. It is based on the assumption that education is improved by utilizing remedial measures to deal with problems such as underachievement and lack of motivation (for example, lower class size, added reading teachers, extra counselors, more materials). This pattern is rehabilitative. It assumes that the central problem concerns the learner and not the school, that children of the slums are disadvantaged because of environmental and cultural deficits, and that through a program of remediation the learner can be

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"lifted" to profit from the standard education program. This is an additive pattern —it attempts to "add-on" to and strengthen existing programs. For example, Head Start builds a new preschool remedial layer onto the existing educative process.

The advantage of this pattern is that it is the least threatening to the present establishment. The evidence available from such efforts, however, indicates that this pattern is not having a significant impact. The results of our Great Cities Project, Higher Horizons, and Title I suggest little scholastic achievement gains for disadvantaged children. Consequently, this pattern is being viewed with increasing distrust by the parents who disagree with the assumption that something is wrong with *their* children. They feel that compensatory education is giving a more concentrated dose of what did not work in the first place. The United States Office of Education is also alarmed about this "more of the same" orientation, but can do little to change it without giving the impression of greater government control. President Richard Nixon's 1970 Message on Education stated that "The best available evidence indicates that most of the compensatory education programs have not measurably helped poor children catch up."

Desegregation and Integration. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, considerable effort toward desegregation has been based on the assumption that Negro pupils' achievement is enhanced in an integrated school environment. The Coleman Report tends to support this view, and the United States Civil Rights Commission is unequivocal in stating:

Negro children suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregations may be. Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools do not achieve as well as other children, Negro and white.[1]

Several major results have emerged from our efforts to desegregate the schools. First, the poor record in desegregation efforts (in New York City there is actually more segregation now than at the time of the Supreme Court decision of 1954) has led to increased frustration on the part of educational consumers who were hoping that desegregation would reverse the general trend in the quality of education. Although desegregation reform was promised, many consumers (mostly black) found instead a continuation of the status quo. To be sure, modest attempts to foster a racial mix were attempted, but these were limited. The masses of blacks remained segregated. In desperation, therefore, realizing that without quality education, their very survival in an advanced technological society was at stake, many blacks sought other paths to the goal of quality education. This led to emergence of the community control alternative, i.e., the demand that communities should gain greater direct control over the education of their children.

The second consequence was that a clearer distinction surfaced between desegregation and integration. Desegregation began to be viewed as the process of physically mixing the races, black and white. Desegregation resembles assimilation, because the dominant culture controls the school norms to which different cultural groups must adjust. Integration was perceived as a more advanced state in human interaction, i.e., a situation in which human beings are related on the basis of equality and respect. Integration cultivates cultural pluralism while seeking relationships on the basis of a broader humanism. Some argued that this advanced stage of integration could come only when blacks had gained a greater sense of power through self-determination. This view will increasingly influence our assumptions in the 1970's.

Programs like that of the Multi-Culture Institute in San Francisco are aimed at relating different racial and ethnic groups while preserving their unique cultural identities. In the Multi-Culture School, Jewish-American, Latin-American, Afro-American and

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[1] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), I.

Chinese-American children attend mixed classes in the morning and culturally specific classes in the afternoon.

Moreover, there is at the present time a slow shift of emphasis on the part of increased numbers of minority group members, especially the young, away from desegregation at the option of the white majority. The new focus of some racial-minority parents is on power and control, but also represents a revolt against the condescension perceived by minority group members in the school desegregation efforts of the post-1954 decade. First, many of them resent the fact that integration is an option of the white community. Second, they believe that the dependent status of the Negro in American society is perpetuated by the notion that the only way to help the black child is to seat him alongside white children. Beneath this mood is a quest for stronger racial identity and pride, and a desire to gain more control of their own destiny. The desire for integration was based, say some black spokesmen, on the belief that parents in predominantly white schools exercised enough power to insure that the school would offer quality education, in which black pupils should share. The converse for black Americans is powerlessness, further destruction of identity and increasing disconnection from the larger society.

The implication for public education of this shift in emphasis is greater participation by Negroes in control of predominantly Negro schools. This is rather different from the "separate but equal" doctrine, since some "black power" philosophers reason that when blacks achieve quality education under their own aegis, they will then be prepared to connect (integrate) with the white society on a groundwork of parity instead of deficiency. A good school then would be defined not by the kind of children who attend it, but by the quality of the education offered by the school.

The goals of integration, therefore, must be maintained and broadened to restore a quality that has been sidetracked in the emphasis on physical mix and on the academic-achievement goal of desegregation. We must recognize that viewing diversity and differences as *assets* rather than as unfortunate barriers to homogeneity has as positive an effect on human growth and development as the teaching of academic skills. If handled sensibly, the current demands for participation in control of public education can be a means of greater connection to society (almost opposite from the connotations of separatism usually associated with "black power"). However, desegregation as a path to quality education has been legitimized as an alternative to school reform.

Model Subsystems. The answers to the problem of improved learning are unknown and must be searched out. The subsystem is a search unit for the total system. It assumes that a pattern which utilizes a "more of the same" approach is limited and that we have not yet found the best approach to school improvement. It also assumes that the educational process has to be updated and that one of the key factors missing from large city school systems is a "research and development" component, a component that becomes the chief instrumentality for revitalizing an outdated system. This component can introduce new perspectives, new energies and new actions to the total system by providing new and tested approaches for change. The model subsystem approach usually attempts to tackle the problem from within "the establishment" and to utilize outside resources such as universities and community groups. It coordinates those outside resources which may have a role to play in educational improvement.

The assumption is that the school and its process are perhaps as much to blame as the environmental differences of the students. In a progress report (by a panel headed by Jerrold Zacharias) to the Commissioner of Education in March, 1964, the model subsystem notion for big city systems was highlighted and gave birth to the model subsystem division of the Washington, D. C., public schools. Other cities, like Boston, are utilizing this option.

An outgrowth of the subsystem is a notion of "contracting out" for delivery of educa-

tional services. In this pattern, a school system can contract with business and industry for the operation of sections of the city's school system. The assumption underlying this approach is that the real change cannot be effected by "inside resources" alone. To increase efficiency and show results, new energies and resources must be brought into the educational system.

Equally important, contracting out introduces a dimension of competition for the services. A board of education can specify what it expects from a contract, indeed, it can discuss a contract with two or three different outside organizations, each in essence competing with the other. The net effort of this competition could be to provide a new motivation to renew urban school systems.

Under this subcontract notion, a central board of education can ask for bids to various organizations for the operations and management of a school or group of schools in the system. In Washington, D. C., for example, the board of education entered into an agreement with Antioch College to operate the Morgan school. This arrangement has since been altered. An elected community council now oversees the Morgan school.

The problem with competitive subsystems approaches is that they tend to by-pass the new emerging public—students, parents and communities who are increasingly projecting the expectation that they must be involved in any decision concerning program options for schools in their localities. The increasing realization of urban school systems that they must strengthen the role of the community in school affairs has prompted the establishment of subsystems which are community-based or community-oriented. In Washington, D. C., for example, there are two community-centered subsystems: the Adams-Morgan Community School and the Anacostia Demonstration District, a 10-school unit. Each unit has a citizen's board that effects policy for the subunit. Each has an experimental status under the board of education.

In New York City, three subsystems were created by the board of education to test the results of greater community participation in local educational affairs. These subsystems include IS 201 in East Harlem, Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn and Two Bridges in the Lower East Side, each with elected local governing boards to oversee the education of the school clusters (intermediate schools and the feeder schools).

In Chicago, the Woodlawn experimental district is a tripartite arrangement in which the central board, the University of Chicago and the community are represented on the local board.

Another promising model subsystem development is the so-called *In Town New Town*. Somewhat related to Model Cities legislation is the option to develop a totally new educational system for a new community. In Washington, D. C., for example, the old National Guard training site is being planned as the Fort Lincoln-New Town. The heart of that New Town is its educational system. While it will still be a part of the Washington, D. C., public school system, it has a special experimental status that will allow it to depart dramatically from the conventional conceptions of education.

Parallel Systems. One approach to quality education is not really intervention in public education; rather, it is an escape into a parallel system. Such an approach assumes that if the poor (or others) cannot reform public education, the system is meaningless to them and they should be afforded other options.

A few privately managed schools have been established in urban ghettos, and several others are in the planning stage. Precedents for such schools exist in Southern Freedom Schools (notably Neil Sullivan's school for Negro pupils deprived of educational opportunity when the Prince Edward County, Virginia, public schools closed to avoid integration). Some Northern counterparts include Harlem's Street Academies and the New School and the Highland Park School in Boston's Roxbury section. The New York Urban League-sponsored Street Academies report sending more than 75 per cent of their students—hard-core rejects from the public school system—to college.

Of considerable potential significance to urban education is an act approved by the Massachusetts legislature late in 1967 which enables the state department of education to assist and sponsor experimental school systems planned, developed and operated by private nonprofit corporations. (The first of these is the Committee for Community Educational Development in Dorchester, Massachusetts.) Assuming a greater role in education and urban problems, states could establish yardsticks, "educational TVA's," in order to measure the effectiveness of different forms of educational innovation.

Project Headstart schools are also "private" in the sense that they exist apart from the public school system and are not subject to its rules and regulations governing personnel, curriculum and other matters. Some of these schools are financed under federal tuition grants and foundation funds, and efforts are being made to obtain support for others from business and industry. A special hybrid, a publicly-financed but totally independent school system (an enclave apart from the regular New York City system), with a per capita budget received directly from the state, was proposed in 1967 by the Harlem Chapter of CORE, though it failed to be accepted by the New York State Constitutional Convention.

Kenneth Clark, a noted Negro psychologist, has proposed a number of alternatives to urban public schools. These include:

Regional State Schools financed by the states and crossing present urban-suburban boundaries.

Federal Regional Schools financed by the federal government out of present state-aid funds or with additional federal funds, to cut through state boundaries. Provisions for residential students could be made.

College and university-related open schools financed by colleges and universities as part of their laboratories in education, open to the public and not restricted to children of faculty and students. Obviously, public students would be selected in terms of constitutional criteria, and their percentage would be determined by realistic considerations.

Industrial demonstration schools financed by industrial, business and commercial firms for their employees and selected members of the public. These would not be vocational schools but elementary and comprehensive high schools of high quality, sponsored by combinations of business and industrial firms in much the same way as various churches and denominations now sponsor and support parochial or sectarian schools.

Labor union-sponsored schools financed and sponsored by labor unions largely, but not exclusively, for the children of their members.

Army Schools. The Defense Department has been quietly effective in educating some of the casualties of our present public schools. It is suggested that the department go into the business of repairing hundreds of thousands of these human casualties with affirmation rather than apology. Schools for adolescent dropouts or educational rejects could be set up by the Defense Department adjacent to camps—though not necessarily as an integral part of the military. If necessary, such operations would become an integral part of the military. The goal is to rescue as many of these young people as possible.[2]

Nonpublic schools have advantages: they do not have to deal with distant and entrenched bureaucracies, with school boards unfamiliar with their particular needs, or with teachers' unions. They are free to hire teachers from a variety of personnel pools and to sidestep rigid credential-granting procedures. They may even abandon such practices as tenure and retain, promote, or discharge teachers purely on the grounds of merit and performance. If the schools are governed by boards with a substantial representation of their pupils' parents, they are likely to be more responsive to the children's needs and thereby to encourage better rapport and partnership between the home and the school. In the most general sense, such schools could afford the poor the choice that is open to many middle-class parents: to educate their children elsewhere if they are dissatisfied with the performance of the public schools. And if enough private schools were available, the pattern would usher in an entrepreneurial system in which parents could choose, cafeteria-style, from a range of styles of education —Montessori prep schools, Summerhills and others.

Carried to its logical conclusion, however,

[2] Kenneth Clark, in *The Schoolhouse in the City*, edited by Alvin Toffler (New York: Praeger, 1968).

the parallel-school approach would reduce the scope of public education, if not dispense with it altogether. The establishment of private schools sufficient to handle significant numbers of poor children would require public support and, in effect, would establish a private system of publicly-supported schools. Middle-income parents would demand similar privileges. For financial reasons alone, the parallel-school approach is hardly likely to become widespread in the foreseeable future; moreover, the scheme would flounder on political, if not constitutional grounds. Finally, since private schools are not subject to public control, there would be no guarantee that some private education might not be organized by special interest groups for ends inimical to a free and open society. Support of such enterprises at public expense would be difficult to justify.

These arguments are, of course, no reason to discourage programs that enable more low-income pupils to attend private schools. Private schools could serve a valuable yardstick function if they were run under conditions that simulated the resources and inputs of public education—particularly comparable per capita expenditures, and if they followed admission policies that would embrace a range of low-income pupils, including the "disruptive." But that is the limit of their usefulness as an alternative to improved public education, because they could never serve the majority of the children of the poor. They remain, at present, another emerging option.

Credit for Tuition Purposes. In order to provide a family with the broadest possible scale of options, some have proposed that families should receive credit-vouchers which could be utilized for tuition to attend various schools in an "open" market. Under this plan, a poor family would have the option to send a child to private or public schools. Further, such a family could "shop" for a certain kind of private school. This plan would tackle the problem of equalizing opportunities. It would also serve as an incentive for school systems to become more efficient because of the competition which would be engendered. This plan might or might not be threatening to public schools depending on how it is developed. It is still a relatively new option, proposed by a handful of educational analysts and critics including Milton Friedman, Christopher Jenks, Ted Sizer and Kenneth Clark. The voucher plan is oriented primarily to provide the consumer with educational options outside of the public schools. However, we have created a massive public school system which is central to the society itself. This public school system is being asked to do more than it can as it is presently structured. The public school system already guarantees its citizens a voucher or tuition. What is needed is more choice inside the public school system, not outside.

Participatory Systems. As big city schools are increasingly challenged by the demands of the consumer—the students, the parents and the community—for quality education, the demands to join the school reform movement

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"Viewed in historical perspective, the personnel, operational and other standards of American city police departments have improved greatly during the past 50 years." Nonetheless, "although the police cannot be held responsible for the existence of poverty, dependency and other conditions which lead to ghetto riots, demonstrations and looting . . . ," it is clear that "today's police departments must explore ways to reduce the risk of disastrous conflict between themselves and the increasingly restive urban poor."

The Police in Our Changing Cities

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THE RAPIDLY CHANGING character of America's central cities requires adaptive adjustment by the agencies of local government. As new and urgent demands are placed upon them, the need for altered modes of agency operations is producing varied expressions of discontent: rent strikes to force building repairs required by poorly enforced city codes; welfare sit-ins brought about by the alleged sluggishness and unresponsiveness of relief agencies; jail disorders among detainees whose trials are long delayed by swamped court facilities; mass disciplinary problems in schools too crowded to operate efficiently; riots, looting and sniping by frustrated ghetto dwellers; strident demands for civilian review of police activities. These and other forms of urban unrest are symptoms of discord between the arts of city administration and burgeoning new operational demands.[1] This article concerns only one aspect of this discord: the problems faced by the police as they try to deal with the new demands and expectations stemming from a shift in their clientele.

Throughout recorded history, the world's cities have nurtured the best and the worst

potentials of humankind. Art, music, literature, education, science and technological and organizational skills flowered in the nutrient mix of wealth, population diversity and divisions of labor which are the essence of cities. But vice, crime, poverty, violence, cruelty and hopelessness also flourished. Until the present century, however, the world's cities contained only a fraction of their nations' inhabitants, most of whom dwelt in towns, villages and open countryside, their lives little touched by the heights and depths of city ways.

Since the mid-1700's, Western countries have experienced accelerating population movements into urban concentrations, exposing increasing proportions of their citizens to the pains and pleasures of urban life. The growth of cities in the United States in particular has been phenomenal. In the 70 years since 1900, the United States was transformed from a society predominantly rural and small-town to one where nearly two-thirds of its people live in 212 metropolitan areas comprised essentially of "central cities" and their suburbs, those innumerable and sprawling towns, villages, municipalities and unincorporated settlements which cluster around the cities like satellite planets which

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[1] This is not to say that city troubles are caused only by administrative shortcomings.

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are circling around their warming suns.

THE CITIES' CHANGING CHARACTER

A demographic process highly significant for the future of police administration in our central cities is occurring as selected segments of these cities' populations remove beyond central city jurisdiction to satellite communities.

United States cities have experienced two great eras of suburban development. The first took place in the early decades of this century, with the advent of electric trolley cars, fast interurban lines and, in cities such as New York, Chicago and San Francisco, "commuter" train services. But except for the loss of relatively small numbers of upper middle class and upper class families, cities retained their characteristically checkered populations, embracing varied nationalities, ethnic and religious groups, and social classes. While this mix tended toward zonal, sector and neighborhood segregation — Hungarian immigrants preferring to dwell among Hungarians, Poles among Poles, middle classes among middle classes and so on—it existed within single political entities, obliging the diverse population segments to accommodate as well as they could to the circumstance of living under a single municipal roof. Such urban governmental services as street repair, schools, police, water and fire protection shared tax and administrative bases derived from highly diverse constituencies and were manned by employees drawn from these.

The second, and far more momentous, era of suburbanization began after World War II, facilitated by the advent of new light industries beyond city lines, a much broadened base of automobile ownership, freeways, and a general affluence. This time, however, the cities began to suffer a telling drain of their more productive and enterprising population groups, as middle class families and higher paid blue collar families were able to abandon their aging urban locales for more pleasant living beyond the cities. And in the process, the suburban communities created

decades earlier received enormous new infusions of inhabitants, while unincorporated sections, filling with vast tracts of newcomers, hastened to obtain charters and to begin providing needed local government services.

The second wave of urbanization had another unique attribute: a tendency existed for individual suburbs to become socially and demographically distinctive as families leaving the central cities sought locales suited to their particular economic resources, cultural levels and ethnic and religious preferences. (Thus Darien, Connecticut, is largely an upper middle class Anglo-Saxon community; Warren, Michigan, is comprised of third and fourth generation Central European Catholic blue-collar citizens; and Livonia, on the opposite side of Detroit, is heavily populated by white middle class and upper working class representatives.)

An ominous aspect of the second suburban wave has been its racial selectivity. During the 1960's, when the percentage of United States whites living in central cities declined from 30 to about 26 per cent, the percentage of Negroes living in central cities increased from 51.5 to 55 per cent. The racial composition of the central cities themselves during the same decade continued to shift toward fewer whites and more blacks, from 82 per cent to 77.4 per cent whites, and from about 17 per cent to 21 per cent blacks. Meanwhile, only an insignificant increase in the proportion of Negroes dwelling in the suburbs occurred, the percentage rising from 4.5 to 4.7.[2]

The long-range implications of these several population shifts for the future of police work are profound. Our central cities will tend increasingly to be the homes of older citizens for whom suburban life is impracticable; of young black and white migrants from the hinterlands settling initially where living is least expensive; of tradition-bound whites living in enclaves fortuitously secure from central city succession processes; and, predominantly, of whites employed at lower blue-collar levels and of Negroes employed largely at unskilled, service, and semiskilled levels with, probably, large proportions

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[2] Bureau of the Census, *Population Characteristics*, Series P-20, No. 197 (Washington, D. C.: March 6, 1970), p. 2.

of both races dependent for survival upon public assistance. Readers familiar with the famous 1920's Burgess theory of the "Zone in Transition" (this being the second of five concentrically-arranged zones having different population characteristics, with the lower social strata living closest to the downtown area and higher strata living at successively greater distances) may have unsettling visions of our central cities becoming, in effect, huge zones in transition, with zones III to V existing in the suburbs beyond city boundaries.

The immediate future, then, may see in our central cities greater proportions of non-whites, "welfare" recipients, the aging, and poor whites unable to extricate themselves for flight to the suburbs. This disillusioned and apathetic (or perhaps restlessly impatient) populace lives at near-minimal economic and cultural levels. With the siphoning off of prosperous, educated and stable citizens for whom the "American Dream" has some reality, the nature and quality of urban governmental services can be expected to change. Providing one of these services is the agency charged with maintaining public peace and security—the police department.

POLICE IN THE CHANGING CITY

Viewed in historical perspective, the personnel, operational and other standards of American city police departments have improved greatly during the last 50 years. From the time, just over a century ago, when our largest cities consolidated their day and night "watches" into police departments, the police have been obliged to cope with rapidly growing and shifting populations, the endless ingenuity of persons bent on criminal activities, corruption arising from the use of police departments as sources of political patronage, the undermining of on-the-street law en-

forcement by dishonest higher-ups, and reluctance among urban administrators and their supporting public to underwrite the police in ways commensurate with their exacting and complex functions.

While recent years have seen substantial improvements in salaries, fringe benefits, training, and employment prerequisites, the recruiting of policemen has become increasingly difficult for a number of reasons, one of which, ironically, is the very tightening of the standards applied to would-be policemen. A 1965 survey of 300 police departments which included nearly all those of our larger central cities showed 65 per cent of them to be below authorized strength, with the big cities averaging 10 per cent below capacity.[3] An important cause of this is a declining rate of eligibility among applicants. In 1956, nearly 30 per cent of 51,000 applicants around the country were adjudged eligible for police force appointments, but the proportion had fallen to 22 per cent by 1961.[4] Extremely low rates of eligibility were reached in 1965 in Washington, D.C., and in Los Angeles, where only 10 and 3 per cent, respectively, were acceptable.

Results of a recent survey of recruits to New York City's police ranks tend to confirm the suggestion that the drainage of abler population segments from central cities will increasingly be reflected in the changing background of police personnel. The percentage of New York City police recruits who had at some time been employed at unskilled work levels increased from 3 per cent to 22 per cent between 1961 and 1969, while the percentage having fathers working at those levels increased from 10 per cent to 46 per cent. The percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican recruits, although still not numerous, proportionately doubled, from 4.5 per cent (in 1964) to 8.5 per cent. As a participant in the study commented: "It would appear from the data that the early socialeconomic background of recruits has declined considerably in the relatively few years intervening between the earlier studies and the present one."[5]

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[3] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Police* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 9.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *The New York Times,* August 24, 1970, p. 25. Paradoxically, however, more 1969 recruits than earlier recruits had completed their secondary schooling by diploma than by equivalency certificates.

I take these data as reflecting, in part, qualitative changes in the populations of central cities, and consequently in the reservoir from which public servants in those cities will be drawn in the future. Conceivably, of course, the cities could (and some do) recruit policemen from beyond their political boundaries, even waiving residence requirements for men who are hired, but because central city policy-making will probably move into the hands of racial and economic "minorities" (who will become "majorities"), it is also likely that police recruitment standards will be altered to allow sufficient recruiting of central city residents. This might not be a handicap at all. As city populations shift so that the greater proportions are made up of the relatively poor and the very poor, the city police often operate more or less unfeelingly with regard to the lower classes and the ghetto poor at the implicit behest of the cities' higher classes. If police personnel become more representative of the strata with which they now have poor relationships, substantial amelioration of the corrosive and inflammatory situation may well occur.

But a decade or two must pass before the complexion of our central cities alters significantly in directions suggested by present trends. In the meantime, today's police departments must explore ways to reduce the risk of disastrous conflict between themselves and the increasingly restive urban poor. Omens are already seen in the bricks and bullets from rooftops, the vandalism of police vehicles left momentarily unattended on ghetto streets, the bombings of vehicles and even of police stations, and retaliations to these guerrilla tactics by ever harsher police responses including, in some cities, military-like assaults on presumed minority redoubts and revolutionary headquarters.

An often voiced prescription for ending this kind of warfare is to beef up city police forces and engage in a show of strength by intensifying both open and undercover surveillance in sections where criminal and "protest" violence flourish (which is to say in the ghettos and tenderloins) and their adjacent neighborhoods. Such suppressive tactics do nothing to cool the fire under the pot, but merely make it blaze more fiercely. While ultimate extinguishing of the fire cannot be made a responsibility of the police, means must nevertheless be found to reduce the exacerbative tendencies inherent in traditional police work.

Although the police cannot be held responsible for the existence of poverty, dependency and other social conditions which lead to ghetto riots, demonstrations and looting, it might be possible to reduce police-ghetto friction by establishing communication with those inarticulate segments of city populations which most often experience altercations with the police. Most established minority organizations are inadequate media for accomplishing desirable communication, because too often they are themselves removed from the "lowest" grass-roots elements, which tend not to be affiliated with organized groups of any kind. It is unfortunate that the very poor interlock with the rest of society not through employment, friendships and kinship ties but through impersonal contacts with officialdom: with police, welfare workers, clinics and school authorities. The much discussed "alienation" of the poor is partially traceable to the formality and brusqueness typical of governmental bureaucracies everywhere. More sophisticated clients of government bureaus can adjust themselves to this kind of handling, but to the poor and ignorant, whose own styles of interaction are highly spontaneous and informal, official demeanor appears chilling and even vaguely hostile. Awareness of this has led a number of welfare, legal aid and other organizations to open ghetto neighborhood offices in several cities, where the poor can get information and help in a spirit approximating the more informal style of interaction with which they are familiar.

POLICE-CITIZEN CONTACTS

Available evidence indicates that only a small portion of a patrolman's day is concerned with criminal matters. In a study of the Syracuse police department, for instance,

James Q. Wilson found police work falling into four main categories, based on an analysis of citizen complaints radioed to patrol vehicles:[6]

Service (accidents, illness, ambulance calls, animals, trees down, drunk person and so on)	37.5%
Order Maintenance (gang disturbance, family trouble, fights, investigation and so on)	30.1
Law Enforcement (burglary in progress, prowler, make an arrest and so on)	10.3
Other	22.1
	100.0%

These proportions vary from city to city, but local police in the United States have long been called upon to serve their communities in many ways, some of them far removed from popular conceptions of police work: they administer drivers' tests, report breaks in streets and sidewalks, censor movies, help firemen, guard school crossings, pick up dead animals, escort distinguished visitors, and perform many other services.

These and other *service* functions hold relatively little potential for producing negative images of the police, but functions of *order-maintenance* are another matter. There is evidence that a police department's reputation among the dwellers in those central city neighborhoods where peace-keeping operations are most often required is very much affected by the manner in which they are carried out. Pride, ego, *machismo* are peculiarly involved in these operations, which require delicate handling by policemen who should refrain from using such blunt and provocative approaches as abusive language and threats of arrest, let alone unnecessary violence. With a modicum of intelligence, tact and courtesy, seasoned and emotionally balanced officers can handle tense situations without fuss and ruffled feelings but, because many officers crudely flaunt their authority especially when dealing with members of scorned minorities, ill-feeling toward the police accumulates among these minorities.

Among other data showing that various negative opinions about the police are more prevalent among non-whites than among whites is a national survey finding that perceptions of police discourtesy are similarly distributed. While 56 per cent of white male respondents with incomes below the poverty level agreed that the police are "very good" in terms of behaving respectfully toward the poor, only 34 per cent of male non-whites in the same income bracket so responded: corresponding percentages for agreement that the police were "not so good" were 4 per cent and 22 per cent.[7] Recognizing the importance in police-community relationships of "mere" peace-keeping activities, the New York City Police Academy has introduced sessions to its curriculum wherein trainees of both sexes take turns playing the roles of, say, battling spouses and summoned policemen, hopefully giving them insight into the subtle dynamics at work in such situations, as well as teaching practical techniques for dealing constructively with them.

To make police departments more sensitive to neighborhood concerns and less "oppressive" toward the poor, civilian review boards, citizen advisory councils working at the precinct level, community relations units within police departments, and the employment of minority patrolmen have been variously tried in a number of cities, with uncertain or at best rather limited results.[8] None of these

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[6] James Q. Wilson, *Varieties of Police Behavior* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 18.
[7] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
[8] *Ibid.*, Ch. 6, pp. 144–207.

"Massive assistance is needed, and needed soon, if the nation's cities are to remain viable governmental entities providing necessary services to their citizens."

New Directions in Urban Financing

By Donald G. Alexander

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CITY GOVERNMENT in 1970 faces a severe financial crisis, a crisis evident to any observant person living in or around cities and listening to the constant warnings by city officials that more revenues must be found or vital municipal services must be curtailed or eliminated. Although vast improvements in municipal services are needed, many cities must strain revenue sources to the limit just to keep in place. A 1967 study by the National League of Cities estimated a gap of $262 billion between projected local revenues and necessary local expenditures over the next decade unless the municipal finance picture changed drastically.[1] Mayor John V. Lindsay's "hold-the-line" fiscal 1971 budget for New York City included $999 million in increases required to meet mandatory costs such as higher salaries, Medicaid and public assistance payments and debt service charges.

The picture is just as grim in many other cities because of the general inflation and, particularly, skyrocketing salaries and interest rates. Between 1967 and 1968, the last year for which comprehensive figures are available, expenditures for the nation's 43 cities of over 300,000 population jumped 16 per cent

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[1] *Options for Meeting the Revenue Needs of City Governments*, study prepared by TEMPO division General Electric Company, for the National League of Cities, Washington, D.C., January, 1967.

[2] The municipal finance figures presented here and subsequently are from data provided by the United States Bureau of the Census and published in the 1967 *Census of Governments* and subsequent supplementary documents.

from $9.8 billion to $11.3 billion, and cost pressures have increased since then.[2]

Cities must meet these cost pressures from a stagnant tax base which they have little power to control or adjust to meet today's needs.

State law tightly controls the taxing powers of most cities, both with regard to what taxes may be imposed and what tax rates may be set; as a result, cities cannot make substantial use of such relatively flexible revenue sources as income or sales taxes, but rather must depend upon the relatively fixed-base property tax. The property tax accounts for nearly seven-eighths of all tax dollars that local governments raise by themselves. In 1968, out of $31.2 billion raised in local taxes, property taxes accounted for over $26.8 billion; the rest came primarily from local income and sales taxes. Property tax increases often aggravate revenue problems by encouraging industrial and residential shifts to lower tax areas, leaving behind low income populations with higher cost demands and the continuing requirement of services to a non-taxpaying commuter population. As the city population becomes relatively poorer, it in turn is less able to accommodate tax increases, further reducing the flexibility of the tax structure.

The property tax base is also being eroded by the growing amount of property controlled by tax-exempt institutions. One study reports that in 1922 only 11.7 per cent of total property valuations were exempted, this grew to 23.4 per cent in 1961 and 32.6

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per cent in 1968.[3] Nearly 70 per cent of all tax exempt property is owned by federal, state or local governments, but approximately $168 billion worth of exempt property is owned by private religious and secular organizations.[4] Removing the exemption for these properties would add several billion dollars a year to local revenues.

The property tax base for local government was established when real estate was the main measure of wealth and demands for municipal services were low, so that creative thinking to develop alternative tax resources was unnecessary. Further, at that time most government duties related to the protection of, or service to, property. By the time that revenue demands rose sufficiently to put strains on the property tax base, it had become so fixed in law and tradition that change was difficult. Today, the property tax as the prime source of local revenues is an anachronism.

ALTERNATIVE FINANCING

To finance urban services in the 1970's, and to relieve the strain placed on the local tax base, several alternatives are already available; others are under consideration. They include: expansion of the local tax base; increased federal and state grants-in-aid to cities; federal or state assumption of the cost of urban services; federal revenue-sharing; consolidation of local governments to increase efficiency; increased reliance on the private sector.

Expansion of the local tax base. Although local taxing power is limited, it is still possible to raise more revenue locally by increasing taxes within the limits allowed by the states or by inducing states to reduce the restrictions on local taxing powers.

For some cities, the first alternative is impossible. For most cities, it would only mean increasing the property tax, raising the pressures against the improvement of urban properties and inducing more taxpayers to abandon the city.

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[3] "Tax-Exempt Property: Another Crushing Burden for the Cities," *Fortune,* May, 1969, p. 76.
[4] *Ibid.*

The second alternative—reduced state restrictions on local taxing powers—would in most cases allow municipalities much greater flexibility in the imposition or increase of local sales and income taxes. Imposition of local sales and income taxes also acts as an economic deterrent to business, but these taxes are more closely attuned to general economic conditions and do not have the markedly regressive impact of property taxes. Such a reduction of present restrictions would give local officials greatly needed flexibility in dealing with their most immediate problems. However, in the past, relaxation of state control has been granted only grudgingly by state legislatures, and there is no prospect for great improvement. Further, the enormity of local needs makes it unlikely that any tax structure based on relatively inefficient collections by the many individual local units will adequately provide the necessary services.

Increased federal and state grants-in-aid to cities. Recently, the most popular device at the federal and state level to relieve the cost pressures on cities has been to increase grants-in-aid for particular categories of projects within these cities. Although federal programs to assist in solving city problems have received much publicity, most grant-in-aid assistance for cities comes in the form of assistance from state governments or federal assistance channeled through state governments. Direct federal grants-in-aid to all local governments amounted to only $1,954,000,000 in fiscal year 1968, while $21,950,000,000 came either from states or from the federal government through the states to local governments. Of this, $4,430,000,000 went to cities with populations of over 25,000. The lion's share of the remainder, $13,321,000,000, went to support local school districts, with suburban areas receiving a disproportionately high per capita share of these funds.

The prime advantage of categorical grant programs is that they can focus on areas of high-priority need determined by federal or state governments. For this reason, they are particularly favored by special interest groups which can oversee and influence various programs in the categorical areas. Local

officials support categorical aid programs as a necessary means of assistance. However, these programs sometimes cause problems because of their crazy quilts of application and approval requirements and the necessity for matching ratios which often make it difficult to fit them into general overall improvement plans. In addition, some of the requirements imposed as a condition of categorical grant assistance create situations in which implementation of the requirements is inconsistent with the practical realities of a local situation. Many, but not all, categorical grant programs have another serious flaw because they are supported by annual appropriations by Congress or state legislatures, thus creating constant uncertainty as to the continuation of vitally needed assistance. Local officials must battle constantly for aid in a sea of competing interests.

The expansion of the federal or state tax base to support grant-in-aid programs also often results in a greater drain on city taxpayers than is received back in assistance. The city of St. Louis receives back only one-third of the funds its taxpayers contribute to the state of Missouri. For the Illinois highway program, the city of Chicago generates $150 million in motor fuel taxes but receives back only about $30 million. Many other large cities would also be better off if they could tap their own revenue sources free of federal and state restrictions and competition.

Federal or state assumption of full costs of urban services. An alternative method of relieving the financial burden on cities is the possibility that the state or federal government could assume the full cost of some services which are now partially funded by local units. The most significant proposal in this area has been advanced by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The Commission suggests that the

federal government assume all responsibility for financing welfare programs and that the states assume full responsibility for the costs of public elementary and secondary education.[5] Another proposal receiving some attention was made by the Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, which has suggested that the states assume the full cost of constructing and maintaining sewage treatment facilities.[6]

Full federal assumption of welfare costs would be a particularly important step: it would result in the development of national welfare standards and would significantly reduce economic pressures which currently encourage poor people to move to areas—particularly large cities—where higher welfare benefits are available. In addition, it would avoid the severe financial problems which have faced some state and local governments when changes in federal laws or guidelines relating to welfare programs have required significant increases in state and local contributions at times when the accommodation of these increases in local budgets was difficult. Although local officials would probably lose what control they now have over these programs if financing was assumed by some other level of government, their communities would be relieved of the impact of program expenses as expressed in terms of the regressive local tax base.

The biggest objection which has been raised to proposals to transfer such functions as education or water pollution control completely to the state level is that in many states with a history of neglect of urban problems, city taxpayers might wind up subsidizing improvements in suburban and rural areas to a greater extent than now is the case, without any guarantee that city needs would receive adequate consideration. Such fears prompted large urban counties in Maryland to oppose a proposal by the governor to assume full state control of water pollution control programs. The same objection would not apply to federal assumption of welfare costs, because benefits would flow directly to poor people wherever they lived.

An alternative proposal for financing the

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[5] *Urban America and the Federal System,* the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C., October, 1969, p. 18.
[6] *A New Approach to the Disposal of Liquid Waste,* Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, New York City, February, 1970, p. 23.

educational system cited by President Richard Nixon's National Goals Research Staff might avoid the potential for unfair allocation of funds inherent in the present system based on institutional aid, and might pave the way to full assumption of educational costs by federal or state government.[7] The proposal would create a voucher system under which a public agency would issue to parents or students a receipt good for a year's education in the school of one's choice. A voucher system financed by federal or state government merits close examination because it is estimated that in 1969 school districts claimed more than half of all local property tax revenues. Thus, the potential of this proposal for relieving local tax pressures is substantial. Implementation of such a program would have to be closely structured to avoid some adverse impacts of freedom-of-choice school systems such as ethnic separation.

Federal revenue-sharing. Of all the proposals to relieve the financial burdens of cities, revenue-sharing is currently receiving the most universally enthusiastic support among state and local officials. Revenue-sharing as discussed here relates to the sharing of federal tax resources with state and local governments. Several states also have programs which share tax resources with local governments, and these programs provide valuable assistance. However, the main thrust of this discussion will be toward the federal revenue-sharing proposals.

Revenue-sharing proposals have been introduced by many Congressmen and Senators, with greatest attention focused on an administration-supported proposal to share revenues with states and local governments according to a formula which considers the population and tax effort of the local community. In the latter half of 1971, the administration bill would allocate $275 million to states and cities with the total rising to approximately $5 billion in five years. While even the $5 billion is only a small portion of

total state and local expenditures (which were $116 billion in 1968), and represents only about one-fourth of existing federal grants-in-aid to states and localities, state and local officials agree that the concept of revenue-sharing is an important one to establish because it would give to cities funds free of federal strings to supplement local budgets for use according to priorities established at the local level.

To alleviate the concern of local officials that a revenue-sharing program which channeled all funds through the states might result in disproportionately small portions of funds filtering through to the cities, President Nixon's revenue-sharing proposal includes a mandatory pass-through which assures that cities and counties will receive a portion of each state's allocation to be divided among them on a formula basis. The pass-through formula varies according to the services performed at state and local levels. In determining the allocation formula, revenues of independent special districts are credited to the state. For example, localities would receive 43.5 per cent of the state's allocation in Tennessee, 33 per cent in Texas and only 30.4 per cent in Kansas.

OBSTACLES TO REVENUE-SHARING

Before it becomes established, however, revenue-sharing has powerful political hurdles to clear. Many of the special interest groups which support categorical grant-in-aid programs oppose revenue-sharing because they believe it will impede their ability to influence local programs from the national level in their areas of interest. In addition, many Congressmen with ranking positions on subcommittees which oversee grant-in-aid programs are reluctant to accept revenue-sharing because it would limit their ability to influence federal, state and local policies through control of purse strings for grant-in-aid programs. Opponents of the revenue-sharing proposal argue that the spending of funds should be controlled by the level of government that collects them and that national funds should be spent only according to national priorities established in Con-

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[7] *Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality,* Report of the National Goals Research Staff (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, July 1970), p. 95.

gress. They also suggest that shared revenue may not be used to deal with most critical needs, and in this regard they point to the fact that, in 1969, 22 states, all of which could receive revenue-sharing assistance, reported budget surpluses. However, surpluses alone are not an index of wealth; the tax effort in many of these states was greater than in those reporting deficits.

Consolidation of local governments to increase efficiency. There are now approximately 80,000 local government units in the country, including 18,000 municipalities, 3,000 counties, and about 60,000 townships and special districts. In addition, a growing number of regional planning and governmental units are being established by both state and local units to review and administer various local programs. It is often asserted that billions of dollars could be saved by the substantial consolidation of these local units into more efficient entities at the regional or state level. Although this suggestion to improve the use of local revenues is supported by simple logic, its main premise is that efficiency and cost effectiveness should be the only goals of governmental financial planning.

In a democracy with a federal system of government, this is not the case. Democracy is not the most efficient and cost-effective form of government, but it is one which promotes respect for the individual and allows development of programs to serve the particular needs of local communities as appreciated by the citizens of those communities.

In addition, there is a growing body of evidence to support the presumption that size alone may not lead to cost savings in running government. In 1967, the per capita expenditure of local governments in county units of over 250,000 population was $351.19. This dropped steadily to $232 per capita in county units of 25,000 to 49,999 population, then rose to $268.95 per capita for county units of less than 10,000 population. As expected, a large part of this cost increase was due to the greater services performed in the denser population areas; however, surpris-

ingly, the per capita costs of such administrative items as financing and general control were also greater for the county units of over 250,000 population than for all other county units except those under 10,000 population.

FUNDS FOR CRIME CONTROL

To cite one recent example of proliferation where consolidation was the goal: in 1968, Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act which established a grant-in-aid program channeling all funds for this purpose through the states because it was alleged, channeling funds in this manner would result in a more efficient program than channeling funds directly from the federal government to individual localities.

Within two years, the 50 states had created 452 regional bureaucracies to aid in administering this program, establishing a four-tier bureaucratic structure rather than the two-tier structure which would have obtained had funds been available directly from the federal government to cities.

Consolidation of localities on any massive scale would also encounter difficult political obstacles. Residents of both the suburbs and the central cities generally view consolidation with some hesitancy, each group fearing that it has more to lose than gain. Opposition to consolidation and other metropolitan governmental structures is growing particularly strong among blacks who often view consolidation as an attempt to dilute the growing black political power base in the central cities.

Increased reliance on the private sector. There is no function which government performs today, except perhaps national defense,

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Noting that "the city, with its blighted areas, can never be revitalized until it ceases to be a prison for the victims of poverty and racism," this specialist concludes that "Opening suburbia to blacks, even locating attractive low-cost housing units in the suburbs and closer to the new industrial parks, will do as much to end poverty as billions spent for slum clearance and renewal."

Poverty in the Urban Ghetto

By John F. Bauman
Professor of History, California State College

I N THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY, the founder of the Children's Aid Society of New York, Charles Loring Brace, described the denizens of that city's alleys and rookeries as the "dangerous classes." To people like Brace and Robert Hartley, early pioneers of American social work, the poor were social pariahs abetted by evil tobacco, "demon rum," and ramshackle tenements. Out of the low dives and filthy hovels inhabited by these classes crept not only the thief, the cutthroat and other brigands, but also—so the thinking of the times went— cholera, smallpox, and the effluvia borne on the hot summer breezes which wafted from the city's blighted core. Long after the genteel Lady Bountiful became the professional social worker, cities still measured the impact of poverty in terms of sanitary conditions, crime and the level of morality.[1]

Despite the emergence over the years of sophisticated sociological treaties dealing with slum pathology, each wave of immigration has fallen heir to the stigma of the ghetto, and with each ethnic succession society has found a new group to label vicious and thus to fear. What the affluent American has yet fully to comprehend is that he fears not the "turbulent Irish" or the "militant black," but the poverty of these less fortunate groups.

America's old urban poor, the ethnic poor of European extraction, challenged social workers from Robert Hartley and Mary Richmond in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to Harry Hopkins in the 1930's. The closing of the floodgates against foreign immigration in the 1920's, followed by the coming of age of American labor unionism in the 1930's and the New Deal's social legislation, all served to lift these old poor out of their inner city habitat into the so-called mainstream of middle class America. Those who remained ghetto-side were the "new poor," people whom Michael Harrington has called "rejects." Among them were the old and the unskilled, but a particularly large number of them were the newest arrivals to the urban ghetto, the black Americans.[2]

Gilbert Osofsky and Allan Spear have both described the making of the black ghetto. The steady drift of black migration northward from the South during the 1890's reached rush proportions during World War I and then slowed somewhat in the late 1920's and the 1930's. According to Osofsky,

[1] For the history of the growth of American thought about poverty and its treatment see Robert Bremner, *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York: New York University, 1969); and Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1962).

[2] See Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Penguin, 1963).

by 1930 Harlem had already become a black ghetto. Like World War I, World War II attracted thousands of southern blacks because of the prospect of decent jobs in the defense industries. The postwar years witnessed an acceleration of the northward trend largely attributable to the effect of federal agricultural policies which rewarded affluent farmers for taking marginal land out of cultivation and using modern farm equipment. This policy led throngs of displaced blacks (about 1.5 million between 1950 and 1959) to seek greener pastures in promised lands like New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

The census of 1960 delineated the urbanization of black America. By that year, almost three-fourths of the nation's black population lived in the cities. The trend continued into the 1960's. In that decade, the black population of America's large cities increased 20 per cent from 9.7 million to 12.1 million people.

Equal in importance to the migration of blacks into urban America was the exodus of whites during the same years. While 1.8 million blacks moved into the nation's 12 largest cities during the 1960's more than 2 million whites packed up and fled to their patch of greenery in the all-white suburbs. This dual process ultimately created a large island of poverty and social decay in the heart of almost every large American city.[3]

POVERTY AND RACE

Today, urban poverty remains, significantly, black poverty. The report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders called particular attention to the destitution

affecting black America. In black America, in 1966 the medium income was only 58 per cent of white income; in the midst of national prosperity one-fifth of the black population was making no significant economic gain. Today, half of these black poor, over 2 million people, live in center city neighborhoods. In the Hough ghetto of Cleveland, the prosperous 1960's brought a rise rather than a fall in the percentage of black poor, from 31 per cent to 39 per cent.

Recent census figures indicate a slight drop in the number of families living in urban poverty areas (places characterized by average incomes under $3,335). According to the 1970 census, the years 1960–1968 witnessed a decline in the number of center city families living in poverty from 4.8 million to 4 million. The greater part of this drop came after 1967, spurred, no doubt, by rioting, rising crime rates and troubled urban school systems. Nevertheless, while these statistics suggest that some blacks are moving to the suburbs, they also indicate that twice the number of whites left the city. Furthermore, although only 14 per cent of the whites who remained are considered poor, still a sizable 31 per cent of the non-white residents are designated poor. Urban poverty remains part of the dilemma of being black in white America.[4]

The principal impact of the new urban poverty is observable in the climate of hate and despair it breeds. Within the heart of almost every large city in the United States, the ravages of racism and poverty have produced a "no-man's land" which, although characterized by many of the same problems indigenous to slum environments of the past, has the additional dimension of hopelessness. This atmosphere of hopelessness corrodes every aspect of ghetto life and makes that which was tolerable for the old ethnic poor intolerable for the denizens of today's slums.

Today, America's ghetto population exists in a world foreign to the experience and imagination of the middle class. Ghetto dwellers from Harlem, Hough and North Philadelphia—children as well as adults— must contend with the darkened hallways

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[3] For discussion of the black migration north and its impact see Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: the Making of a Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); and also Louise V. Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930); and Allan Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

[4] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 251–259; Anthony Downs, "Alternative Futures for the American Ghetto," *Daedalus*, 97, fall, 1968, 1331; Jeanne R. Lowe, *Cities on a Race With Time: Progress and Poverty in America's Renewing Cities* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 279.

and shadowy alleys which often conceal unconscious drunks or junkies "shooting up." Roaches and rats in the ghetto are nuisances to be coped with, not shrieked at. Despite the frequency of garbage and trash collection, slum dwellers find these services unequal to the high population density of the area. Then, too, the frequently stolen trash and garbage containers are rarely replaced promptly by the landlords. The results are rotting garbage and dirty streets.

But filth only exacerbates already miserable health conditions. Poor diets (a 1964 Chicago study found that 76 per cent of infants in poverty stricken families were anemic before age two) compounded by a paucity of effective medical services has produced a health crisis especially among the non-white poor. Infant mortality is 58 per cent higher among non-whites; tuberculosis, pneumonia and cancer of the cervix are twice as common in black America as in white. Mental illness likewise abounds among blacks. Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard, who made a study of the state of mental health in the Boston ghetto, found psychiatric problems there as commonplace as rotting teeth; he regarded both conditions as badges of slum occupancy. According to the National Advisory Commission's Report on Civil Disorders, 30 per cent of the American poor earning less than $2,000 a year suffer from a chronic health condition affecting employment. Yet despite these deplorable conditions in the ghetto, affluent America expects a middle class performance from its "other half." The American welfare structure, whether private

or public, has traditionally been the agency to exact this performance.[5]

The welfare structure which the United States has shaped since the 1930's is today a two-edged sword. Not only does its administration often contribute to the despair of ghetto life (a point to be discussed later), but the skyrocketing costs of rising welfare caseloads constitute a significant cause of the fiscal drain which helps make city government the least solvent member of the federal structure.

THE WELFARE CASELOAD

Welfare caseloads in cities across the United States rose astronomically in the 1960's. New York City had over a million people on its rolls in 1969, a rise of about 300,000 from 1968, although not half so high as the rise of over 800,000 during the preceding year. Currently, with the tight job market induced by anti-inflation measures, New York City is adding almost 5,000 new welfare recipients each month.

The principal increase has been in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program (A.F.D.C.) commonly called A.D.C. (Aid to Dependent Children). The rise in A.D.C. dramatically reflects the character of the cityward migration of the past decades. New York City welfare director Mitchell Ginsberg has observed that it has been the young, disadvantaged Puerto Ricans, southern blacks and poor whites who have sought the American dream in the big city, and their frustrations have been graphically portrayed in the growing A.D.C. rolls. In New York City, the nation's traditional Mecca for the poor who are seeking opportunity, the number of A.D.C. clients rose 300 per cent during the 1960's; but the rolls also rose elsewhere: 293 per cent in Los Angeles; 281 per cent in Baltimore; 250 per cent in Newark, New Jersey. Although 90 per cent of the country's welfare programs—general assistance excluded—are at least partially funded out of federal funds, welfare still represents one of the cities' largest costs. New York City spent slightly under $3 billion for welfare in 1969.[6]

This increased cost of welfare and other

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[5] One of the best comprehensive discussions of the pathology of ghetto life is Kenneth Clark's, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); see also Orletta Ryan, "If I Get One More U My Mother's Goin To Beat Me Till It Rains," *The New York Times Magazine,* May 13, 1966, p. 26; Robert Coles, "What Poverty Does to the Mind," *The Nation,* June 20, 1966, p. 746; Report by the Citizen's Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the U. S., *Hunger, U.S.A.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). On the state of sanitary services in the ghetto see George J. Kupchik, "Environmental Health in the Ghetto," *American Journal of Public Health,* 59, February, 1969, 220–225.

[6] See Mitchell Ginsberg and Jack Goldberg's explanation for New York City's rising caseloads in *The New York Times,* June 30, 1970, p. 23.

services to the poor, such as day care centers, clinics and police protection, must come out of the already overused city property tax. For both industry and the encumbered middle class, the escape from taxation and the problems of welfare has been to relocate in the suburbs, leaving the city with an increasing demand for better services and a dwindling tax base to provide them.

The final impact of the vicious fiscal squeeze upon the city is the loss of urban autonomy. Edward M. Kaitz and Herbert H. Hyman, in a recent study, *Urban Planning for Social Welfare,* point out that as the city relies more and more upon federal sources of assistance, its power to decide its own future erodes. What is more, conclude Kaitz and Hyman, the welfare decisions of federal planners notoriously by-pass the needs of the city's growing population. Other experts, such as Herbert Gans, Charles Abrams, and Jan Jacobs, have catalogued the past failure of urban renewal to aid the poor.[7]

Much as in the past, the ordinary citizen experiences the impact of urban poverty through reading of, hearing about, or actually being victimized by city-bred crime or violence. Studies in some cities indicate that as many as 43 per cent of the people are afraid to walk the streets at night. Poverty therefore gnaws at the very fabric of urban society, for the citizenry's growing fear of the poor, whether it be of their crimes, their riots, or their seemingly alien life-style, is primarily responsible for the feeling of some observers that a death sentence has been pronounced upon urban life.

The fact that poverty and slum life breed crime, which was vividly portrayed earlier in the literature of writers like Charles Dickens and Theodore Dreiser, has more recently been documented by statistics. As Roy Lubove pointed out in his excellent study of tenement house reform, urban reformers like Alfred T. White, Jacob Riis and Lawrence Veiller were all motivated in part by the prospect of making the city safe from slum-fostered crime. Yet it is the modern dimension of slum pathology that makes the present day violence of the ghetto so formidable. In addition to low income, dependency, racial and ethnic concentration, unemployment and poor education, the modern ghetto breeds a dangerous level of frustration especially among the young.[8]

Two authorities on delinquency, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, both of the Columbia School of Social Work, ascribe juvenile crime essentially to a society that encourages certain aspirations among all its members, and then withholds from some the possibility that they can achieve these goals legitimately. Spurned by opportunity, constantly subjected to degradations of the ego by one agency of society after another, the slum youth sees little alternative to "making it" in the ghetto. For him, the flashy "hustler" is the most meaningful model of success. Claude Brown and Malcolm X have both eloquently linked narcotics pushing, prostitution, burglary and other "hustles" to the dark ghetto. Yet while many of the victims of these hustles may be outsiders, the ghetto itself sustains much of its impact. Crime is another symptom of the disease of poverty in the inner city.[9]

POVERTY AND RIOTING

Since 1964, the frustrations of the ghetto have manifested themselves in another more ominous manner which has served to alert

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[7] A discussion of the relationships of poverty to the city tax structure is found in Edward M. Kaitz and Herbert H. Hyman, *Urban Planning for Social Welfare: A Model Cities Approach* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 5. On the shortcomings of urban renewal see especially Charles Abrams, *The City is the Frontier* (New York: Harper, 1965), pp. 19–101.

[8] According to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 38, "it is one of the most documented facts about crime that serious crimes that worry people most . . . happen most in slums of cities": see also *Report on Civil Disorders,* pp. 263–268; on housing reform and social control see Lubove, *op. cit.,* pp. 245–251.

[9] See for example Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (New York: Free Press, 1960). Two excellent accounts of the impact of slum life on youth are Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), and Malcolm X, *Autobiography* (New York: Grove Press, 1966).

America to the problems of race and poverty. In 1964, the Cleveland ghetto revolted against its sordid, isolated condition and since then, among most middle class Americans, areas like Watts, Newark and Harlem are most clearly identifiable as the riot scenes of the long hot summers.

According to a recent sociological study of urban rioting, violence-prone people are people who feel threatened. Moreover, the tendency to riot is intensified among persons who have suffered some damage to their self-esteem, especially at the hands of such impersonal authorities as loan agencies, "the welfare," and the police. Even some improvement in the economic condition of ghetto dwellers does not necessarily restrain their inclination to riot, not at least while their opportunity to participate freely in American society is confined by the walls of racism.[10] A quantitative study of the relationship between deprivation and protest by Don Bowen, Elinor Bowen, Shelden Gawises, and Louis Masotti found rioting considered "acceptable behavior" among those disadvantaged individuals with rising expectations as well as among those who expected little change in their conditions.[11] E. L. Quarantelli sees the riot in another way. In the midst of the riot, he argues, property is redefined in collective terms. Rioting can be seen as a "new process of collective bargaining, and in this sense the looter is temporarily a full participant in the mass consumption society."[12]

Poverty relief in urban America, like American social welfare in general, has been premised upon America's traditional beliefs about individual worth and redemption. Many of the concepts which dominate our thinking about welfare are traceable to the nation's Calvinist heritage. The traditional Puritan work ethic was reinforced by the country's inherited Elizabethan poor law. In essence, this Calvinist-Elizabethan view of welfare preaches that an individual's godliness is measured by his ability to labor and produce. Accordingly, all non-productive members of society are seen as unwanted burdens which society should care for only in the most miserly manner. It follows that the whole purpose of welfare should be to force the thriftless, intemperate, sinful individual to work.

However, with the increasing sophistication of social work at the end of the nineteenth century, poverty was attributed more to environmental causes and less to moral depravity or original sin. Professionalized social workers described the poor as victims of family maladjustment in need of psychiatric counseling and other services to overcome their inability to fit into the middle class mold. Few social workers, even in the 1930's, saw poverty as a problem of income deprivation.

THE NEW DEAL WELFARE STRUCTURE

The passing of the voluntary welfare agency and the burgeoning of federally supported public welfare in the 1930's meant little for those made incomeless by technological change or discrimination. Despite the protests of a number of social workers in the early 1930's, the welfare structure framed by the New Deal after 1935 only reinforced the Calvinist-Elizabethan view of poverty and the aversion of the private social agency to cash instead of service assistance. The unemployment benefits of social security, for example, were premised upon the existence of a job; general assistance, for several years (1933–1935) governed by federally established standards, was turned over to the states to be doled out as sparingly as possible. The welfare system that finally emerged under public auspices still assumed that joblessness and poverty were attributable to a social defect best treated by casework. Some closely guarded financial aid might be allowed, but only a pittance, for too much

[10] Kurt Land and Gladys Lang, "Racial Disturbances As Collective Protest," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. II (March–April, 1968), p. 11.

[11] Don Bowen, Elinor Bowen, Sheldon Gawises and Louis Masotti, "Deprivation, Mobility and Orientation Toward Protest," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. II (March–April, 1968), pp. 2–23.

[12] E. L. Quarantelli and Russell A. Dynes, "Looting and Civil Disorders: An Index of Social Change," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. II (March–April, 1968), p. 7.

would be detrimental and would promote the "habit of dependency."[13]

THE "NEW POOR"

The depression poor, however, were the old ethnic poor, people subject to the whims of a relatively unregulated and unchallenged capitalism. It was in the early 1960's that Michael Harrington publicized the "new poor," the old, the blacks, the domestics, the hospital employees, casual workers—categories unaffected by the union movement and passed over in the social welfare advances of the 1930's.[14]

In the face of this new clientele, public welfare remains highly bureaucratized and committed to providing services to the poor. It is still geared to an older type of poverty, still so conditioned by a middle class work-oriented value structure that it is helpless to combat a type of poverty alien to middle class experience.

Today, the American welfare system is discovering that its casework technique cannot penetrate the new poverty. Individualized services are not relevant to a situation of mass impoverishment, nor can they respond effectively to such mass handicaps as being black or being unskilled.

Yet it is precisely the forces of racism and

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[13] Bremner, *From the Depths.* See also Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), for an excellent discussion of the growth of psychiatric casework. Lubove also discusses the contempt of the private charity agency for public welfare, an important aspect of the professionalization of social work. See also Lubove, "Social Work and the Life of the Poor," *The Nation,* 202 (May 23, 1966), p. 611.

[14] Harrington, *The Other America;* also Harrington, *Toward a Democratic Left: A Radical Program for a New Majority* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), Chapter III.

[15] On A.F.D.C. see *Report on Civil Disorders,* p. 457; see also Alvin Schoor, "The Family Cycle and Income Development," *Social Security Bulletin* (February, 1966); *Business Week,* (November 11, 1967), p. 72; Eveline Burns, "The Poor Need Money," *The Nation,* 200 (June 7, 1965), p. 613. On the employment potential of A.F.D.C. mothers see Genevieve W. Carter, "The Employment Potential of A.F.D.C. Mothers," *Welfare in Review,* 6 (July–August, 1968), pp. 1–11. For a discussion of joblessness in the ghetto see Paul O. Flaim, "Jobless Trends in Twenty Large Metropolitan Areas," *Monthly Labor Review,* 91 (January–June, 1968), pp. 16–18.

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technology that are largely responsible for today's largest body of welfare recipients, the A.D.C. mothers. The typical A.D.C. family is urban (75 per cent live in population centers with over 2.5 million black residents), with three children headed by a 30-year-old mother. According to recent census figures, the number of black families headed by a woman increased 83 per cent from 1960 to 1969, while black families headed by a male increased only 15 per cent.

This A.D.C. phenomenon tells us as much about the limited employment opportunities for black unskilled men as it does about the welfare structure which perpetuates the alienation of the black family. Statistics clearly show that rising A.D.C. caseloads are symptomatic of rising levels of ghetto unemployment. Unemployment in the ghetto has consistently reached twice the national rate. Even when blacks are employed, they are generally subemployed in low-status jobs. More serious still is the high level of unemployed black teenagers. While the non-white unemployment rate in cities stood at 7.6 per cent in 1968, a study that year of unemployment in the 20 largest metropolitan areas showed the teenage jobless rate among blacks at 33 per cent.

The impact of these figures is alarming. In a nation where holding a job, as Patrick Moynihan observes, is the primary source of group identity, the ghetto harbors a depression-size unemployment rate. Not only does this black joblessness foster family disruption, but it also greatly increases the chance of unemployment in the offspring. Jobless youths then become part of the street corner society, and from there they may add to statistics on delinquency, crime and violence. Hence, despite the persistent myth that A.D.C. principally caters to slothful, dishonest and promiscuous women, there is equally persistent evidence that the welfare problem stems from a condition of joblessness fostered and compounded by the alienation and hopelessness of the dark ghetto.[15]

Presently, the welfare system not only fails to remedy the root causes of ghetto pathology, but in fact contributes to the further aliena-

tion of those families served. In 1968, Mitchell Ginsberg, the head of New York City's department of welfare, declared that the welfare system was bankrupt as a social institution. That same year, the Commission on Civil Disorders found that the present system of public assistance "contributes materially to the tensions and social disorganization that have led to civil disorders." [16]

True to affluent America's fear that decent levels of relief would encourage dependency at the taxpayer's expense, A.D.C. grants have provided only part of the client's needs; in 1965, New York City (where welfare is considered particularly generous) met only 88 per cent of a welfare family's minimum needs.[17] In return for relatively meager grants, most cities still subject the client to humiliating investigations followed by brash impersonal checkups. The investigations, the gaps in coverage and the low level of payments only exacerbate the plight of the poor, reminding the recipient that society considers him untrustworthy, ungrateful, promiscuous and lazy. Urban poverty in America, which forces an individual to subsist on welfare, thus invites a loss of the elemental privilege of privacy and dignity. It imposes upon the poor a badge of inferiority very little less debasing than the white letter "p" sewn on the cheap wool uniforms worn by the inmates of nineteenth century English workhouses.

The earlier charitable agencies tried to overcome poverty by reconstructing sundered families and inculcating middle class values. In contrast, the present system actually con-

tributes to the trauma of the ghetto and in this way further generates the conditions which increase the welfare rolls.

The cure for today's urban poverty eludes the remedies of the social worker, a fact recognized today by many social workers themselves, by sociologists and by economists. More than ever, as Martin Meyerson observes, the enormity of the welfare crisis is rallying the white middle class reformer and the black militant. Their demand, supported by the Welfare Rights Organization, is for some type of income guarantee for all Americans. Conservative opinion on the subject of guaranteed income insists that a work incentive must be incorporated into any income maintenance program. Accordingly, President Richard Nixon's proposal for a family assistance program is essentially a watered-down income-maintenance scheme which its designer, Patrick Moynihan, appropriately labels "workface." On the other extreme stands the Welfare Rights Organization which calls for a minimum guaranteed income of $5,310.[18]

Significantly, both camps agree that decent welfare provisions must be regarded in the United States "as a right." Support for the needy should be as easily granted as old age benefits under Social Security. An income maintenance program structured to provide a decent level of existence to needy families could restore that ingredient of dignity so essential if families are to remain socially and psychologically sound.

There is little doubt that some form of income maintenance is imminent. However, in President Nixon's current Family Assistance Program proposal the minimum income is not only too low to provide meaningful relief to the urban poor, but the work in-

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[16] Ginsberg quoted from *U.S. News and World Report* (July 17, 1967), p. 45; *Report on Civil Disorders*, pp. 458–459.

[17] *Hunger, U.S.A.*, p. 73.

[18] Martin Meyerson, "Urban Policy: Reforming Reform," *Daedalus*, 97 (fall, 1968), pp. 1418–1419. See Patrick Moynihan's discussion of family assistance in "One Step We Must Take," *Saturday Review* (May 23, 1970), p. 20; Yale Brozen discusses at some length all the various income maintenance proposals in "Toward an Ultimate Solution," *Saturday Review* (May 23, 1970), p. 30. In his article "Guaranteed Minimum Income Proposals and the Unfinished Business of Social Security," *Social Service Review*, 41–42 (June, 1967), pp. 166–178, George Rohrlich disagrees that income maintenance obviates the need for social services.

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Noting that "The extent to which existing slums and blighted areas can accommodate new and rehabilitated housing in an acceptable central city environment depends to an important degree on street and highway relocation," this authority delineates the relationship between urban housing and transportation.

Urban Housing and Transportation: A New Partnership

By Wilfred Owen
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GROSSLY INADEQUATE HOUSING and poor transportation are closely interrelated problems. Each one helps to make the other worse. The poverty of close-in living conditions compels those who have automobiles to escape to the suburbs, creating massive traffic jams for commuters and making public transport increasingly inefficient. The intrusions of the automobile and expressway, in turn, often accelerate the deterioration of urban housing and destroy community values. These interrelationships suggest the possibility that housing and community development programs could help solve transportation problems, and that transportation investment might help launch a large-scale attack on environmental decay. If the two programs could be combined, they might hasten the process of eradicating slums, prepare the land for new housing, reduce the exasperations of getting to work, and help create communities that offer better living as well as easier moving.

The past decade has added 34 million motor vehicles to the United States total, a greater increase than in any previous 10-year period. This compares with a population increase during the 1960's of 20 million. Automotive gains outstripped the population explosion by a margin of more than 3 to 2. Every year Americans produce seven times more motor vehicles than housing units. And since most of the population growth is in metropolitan areas (75 per cent of the total) most of the vehicles are concentrated in the one per cent of the land that comprises urban America.

Upward trends in car ownership have been paralleled by a sharp decline in the level of public transit patronage. The number of people riding buses and subways is at a level 50 per cent below public carrier volumes of 50 years ago.

The results are painfully familiar. The commuter is subjected to the daily rush from suburb to center city on crowded buses, clogged streets and late trains. He is the victim of polluted air, blighted streetsides, and the ugliness of an asphalt environment. Expressways are disrupting neighborhoods, displacing people and converting communities into garages. A nation intent on making it easier to move has made it increasingly difficult to live.

Those who have escaped to the suburbs have left the problems of center city slums and blight for someone else to solve. The result of this withdrawal has been the suburban sprawl that is often little more than a dormitory designed to produce monotony, conformity, isolation and excessive costs. Commutation has resulted in enormous transportation expenditures; the distances between home and work have been getting longer; and

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the quality of the environment en route has become increasingly repelling. An added disadvantage is the growing division of urban society between the affluent suburbs and the decaying centers.

The automobile society has imposed special hardship on those who for reasons of income, age, health or personal choice do not own an automobile. One-fourth of all families are in this category. Half of all Negro families are carless. Many of those in the lower third of the income scale depend for mobility not on private cars but on public transit. This service has been going from bad to worse. Fares continue to rise; patronage is further discouraged; service is curtailed; more ridership is lost; fares go higher; and the whole cycle is repeated again. But the high cost and poor service are not the total burden suffered by the poor. The shortcomings of public transit mean that the advantages of the city are beyond the reach of millions of urban Americans, many of whom find that without a car it is hard to find a job or to hold on to it.

THE HOUSING SITUATION

The advantages of the city, however, have been declining in many respects. In 1970, the nation was entering the third decade of unfulfilled housing promises, and the backlog continued to mount. The official count of substandard housing units totaled approximately 6.7 million units, but this is a gross understatement. It has been said that any box-like structure can pass as standard if it is reasonably waterproof and has pipes. No weight is given to the overcrowding, the dirt, the rats and roaches, the poor ventilation and lighting, the violation of safety codes and health regulations, the excessive density of buildings, and the lack of open space and recreation. Much housing that passes as structurally sound is still slum housing. "Most Americans have no conception of the filth, degradation, squalor, overcrowding and per-

[1] Anthony Downs, "Moving Toward Realistic Housing Goals," in *Agenda for the Nation*, Kermit Gordon, editor (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 142.

sonal danger and insecurity which millions of inadequate housing units are causing. . . ."[1]

The need for housing in 1969 totaled 2.6 million units. This included about 1.3 million units to meet the requirements of new families formed in that year, 600,000 units to compensate for units lost due to urban renewal, highway construction and other demolition, and 600,000 units to eliminate substandard housing over a 10-year period. Another 100,000 units were vacation homes.

The supply of conventional housing that year was 1.5 million units, leaving a deficit of over a million units. The heavy impact on low-income families is measured by the fact that 73 per cent of the housing that was built went to buyers in the upper third of the income scale, and another 19 per cent went to the middle third. Only 9 per cent of the conventional new housing was available for those in the lower third of the income scale.

The nation's inability to produce enough low-cost housing has made mobile homes a major recourse. Some 400,000 of them were built in 1969, comprising 90 per cent of all housing units priced under $10,000. Their popularity as a substitute for houses is readily explained. The most popular trailer costs $7,000. It can be purchased like an automobile; it is furnished; and monthly payments average $140, including $40 for the rental of space in a trailer park. No real estate taxes are paid and insurance costs are low.

If we can build automobiles and trailers, why not houses? The legislation is available for almost every conceivable program to overcome housing deficiencies. There are probably 50 different federal programs to help build the housing we need. They include, for example, the long-standing low-rent housing program, which has been the principal federal means of subsidizing housing for the poor. There is also a program for long-term financing at below market interest rates to help stimulate housing for moderate income groups. There is a rent supplement program to cover the difference between rental charges and ability to pay them, a program to finance housing rehabilitation, a housing program for the elderly, a refocusing of urban renewal

programs on residential housing needs, and incentives for large corporations to participate in low and moderate income housing construction.

Other steps in the right direction include Operation Breakthrough, the federally sponsored effort to apply industrial techniques to home building. A total of 22 housing systems were selected in 1970 by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, including units for all income levels, and sites were selected for the construction of prototypes. This could prove to be a key to the renaissance of the urban community. Breakthrough, in the words of the Secretary of HUD, was intended to shift the housing effort from conventional construction to industrialized production, to move housing toward a national market, and to bring together diverse companies to pool their expertise.[2] The outcome of the program, however, is still clouded.

Another federal effort to help the cities is the Model Cities Program, through which new emphasis is given to the social needs of the community in shaping changes in the environment. There were 150 Model City projects under way in 1970. Plans included child day-care centers, legal aid centers, health clinics, playgrounds and swimming pools, new schools and training colleges, job information systems, the provision of good public services, and the creation of neighborhood amenities. This program may be merged with the established urban renewal program, which together with an accelerated housing effort and the inclusion of an urban transport infrastructure might move us closer to overall community development.[3] But even with all these programs there is still little chance of producing the one dwelling unit every 27 seconds that is the minimum re-

quirement for housing between now and the year 2000.

In a nation with a gross national product nearing a trillion dollars, it is tragic that so little is being done to meet the housing needs of low-income people. Some of the reasons are well known. They include the high cost of mortgage money and the inflation of building costs; the obsolescence of house construction methods, of building codes, and of restrictive labor practices, and, above all, the lack of commitment and the folly of our national priorities. But another difficulty that has assumed major proportion is the lack of sites on which to build low-cost housing. In the old central cities, it is difficult to assemble enough land to launch a full-scale attack on the slums. Thousands of parcels have to be purchased. It is taking 11 years, on the average, to clear a tract of urban land under the urban renewal program. Meanwhile, the families displaced in the process have no place to go, because there is no simultaneous effort to provide new housing in the suburbs. The reason for this is the reluctance of white suburbanites to allow low-income blacks to enter their communities. So, in spite of all the new transport and communication technology at our disposal, millions of people continue to crowd into high density slums with minimum amenities, while much of the nation's land remains unused.

THE SPACE PROBLEM

In the Kaiser Committee Report it was established that a minimum 10-year goal of 26 million new homes will have to include 6 million subsidized units for low-income groups.[4] This will require the construction of 10 times more housing units per year for low and moderate income families than ever before. This many homes will require a minimum of a million acres of land plus another million acres for recreation, shopping, industry and other supporting activities. The 20 million unsubsidized homes in the proposed 10-year program would require at least 6 million acres more. Altogether, the 8 million acres of new urbanized land required in one decade constitute a 60 per cent

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[2] George Romney, *HUD Newsletter*, March 15, 1970, vol. 1, p. 2.

[3] See Charles L. Shultze, with Edward K. Hamilton and Allen Schick, *Setting National Priorities— The 1971 Budget* (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970), pp. 94–99.

[4] President's Committee on Urban Housing, *Report of the President's Committee on Urban Housing: A Decent Home* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969).

increase over any previous rate of land consumption.[5] The housing problem is very much a space problem, and the space will not be made available without transportation to provide access to building sites.

Additional space problems are confronted in existing ghettos. The Douglas Commission has documented the need for altering present urban land uses to help reduce the crowded conditions in central city slums that make it impossible to achieve a successful housing effort.[6] "In the central cities, congestion is the great evil," denying recreation, bidding up the price of land, creating a sense of containment, and placing enormous burdens on public transport, the street system, and public service of all kinds.[7]

There are thus two functions that future transportation programs can perform. One is to construct the highways and transit that will provide access to the millions of acres of land required to accommodate new housing, and the other is to use the streets to help create the community framework and circulation system both for newly planned urban areas and for the close-in areas of the old cities that need to be redesigned and rebuilt. The extent to which existing slums and blighted areas can accommodate new and rehabilitated housing in an acceptable central city environment depends to an important degree on street and highway relocation.

The magnitude of the required housing program calls for the use of the street system to delineate neighborhoods, community shopping areas and industrial parks. Many existing streets will have to be re-routed to permit the creation of new housing estates and to make possible the assembly of enough parcels of land to establish playgrounds and recrea-

tion areas. Some of the most intolerable conditions in slum areas can be remedied by street patterns that introduce more light, air, open space and landscaping. In some cases, railway yards and other obsolete or poorly located transit facilities can also be made available for housing and community needs. The construction of off-street parking facilities, pedestrian malls and major boulevards can further help the decongestion process and create a better environment.

What is needed in the old cities, then, is a major street and highway construction program which can be carried out in conjunction with a program of land acquisition, clearing the way for what has been called the "new town in town."[8] To do this, however, requires the acquisition of land beyond the city limits to accommodate the people displaced by center city redesign, and this will necessitate programs of transportation—including highways and transit—to make it possible to link the new suburbs or satellite communities with the center and with each other.

There are thus two ways to make the land available. One is to raze much of the blighted housing in the old cities and to rehabilitate the rest. The other is to build outside the old cities, in the suburbs or further out, or to enlarge some of the many small communities where growth seems possible and desirable. In each of these two approaches, transportation can play a critical role. It can give us access to new sites in the suburbs and beyond, and it can supply the physical framework and necessary mobility for both new and renewed communities.

SPACE THROUGH STREET DESIGN

One-fourth to one-third of the entire area of the city is devoted to the transportation system—roads and streets, parking lots, terminals and other transport infrastructure. These facilities dictate to a large extent what the urban environment is like. The fact that they are in the public sector permits them to be designed and redesigned to yield the kind of environment required for satisfactory housing. The streets can be used to delineate neighborhoods, to insulate them from traffic

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[5] *Urban America, The Ill-Housed* (Washington, D. C.: Urban America, Inc., 1969).

[6] National Commission on Urban Problems, *Building the American City*, Report of the National Commission on Urban Problems to the Congress and the President of the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 91st Congress, 1st Session).

[7] *The Ill-Housed*, previously cited, p. 16.

[8] Harvey S. Perloff, "Modernizing Urban Development," in *Daedalus, Toward the Year 2000* (Summer, 1967), pp. 789–800.

or incompatible land uses, to provide networks for pedestrians, to introduce green into the city, and to carry out a dozen other environmental chores. We have almost completely overlooked these non-transportation functions of the transportation system.

What the housing program needs is a street system that makes possible campus-type housing estates downtown, that removes cars to off-street locations, eliminates unnecessary mileage, converts the streets to parks and playgrounds, creates pedestrian networks, and permits the assembly of commercial properties along the streets into shopping centers off the streets. There is a need for control of signs and advertising, for underground installation of utilities, for tunnels and underpasses to make the automobile less obtrusive, and for landscaping in the cities to match the landscaping on rural roads.

At the first meeting of the Committee on Housing, President of the United States Richard Nixon said that people need not only decent homes but also healthy surroundings.[9] This includes the outlook from the house, the condition of the surrounding streets, and the uses made of the streets. What one sees in a blighted neighborhood are broken and unmaintained pavements lined with parked automobiles, poles, wires, advertising and rubbish. The streets are important as transport arteries only to those who live somewhere else, who use them to pass through or to park. The resulting noise, dirt and fumes of traffic have a ruinous effect on adjacent housing and on the lives of those whose only meeting place and recreation space are the sidewalk and the street.

It has been stated that if the streets were cleaned and their ugliness transformed, there would be a strengthening of the self-image of the ghetto resident and a building of renewed confidence in the possibility of other solutions. This alone would not be "an acceptable substitute for dealing with the unsolved problems of housing, schools, and jobs, but it must be seen as a first step. . . ."[10]

There are other examples of how cities are beginning to use transportation infrastructure to enhance the urban environment. The use of air rights over highways is a growing means of supplying needed space at economic prices and of overcoming the unwanted environmental effects of surface expressways. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1961 authorized the use of space above or below interstate highways for other uses. In Washington, D.C., on the Inner Loop Freeway, this authority was invoked to plan an air-rights housing project over and adjacent to a depressed eight-lane freeway to provide homes for displaced families and to supply recreation areas. The plan, jointly sponsored by the Redevelopment Land Agency, the National Capital Housing Authority and the Bureau of Public Roads, includes apartment buildings and townhouses, a playfield and a park.[11]

The joint use of highway and housing funds and of recreation, park and other public monies offers the opportunity to support area-wide programs of slum clearance and renewal that could not possibly be accomplished through the conduct of separate and unrelated projects. In such a joint attack, highway funds can help in acquiring land and setting the stage for urban redevelopment, while housing funds, by creating more satisfactory living conditions close in, can help reduce commuting volumes and thus solve transportation problems.

ACCESS TO PLANNED COMMUNITIES

Building a planned community within the old city, however, is certain to require much lower densities and therefore to displace many center city residents. Simultaneously with the rebuilding of the old cities, therefore, the creation of planned communities outside the old cities will be required to accommodate

[9] The Report of the President's Committee on Urban Housing, *A Decent Home* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 1.

[10] Kenneth B. Clark, "The Negro and the Urban Crisis," in Kermit Gordon (ed.), *Agenda for the Nation* (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968), pp. 136–137.

[11] *The Joint Development of Housing and Freeways*, a report prepared for the Department of Highways, District of Columbia, and the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads (New York: Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy-Stratton, 1967).

the combined demands of population growth, increasing affluence and overspill from the slums. ◦

Planning for such new urban growth is important if a conscious effort is to be made to break up the racial ghettos. Providing planned communities for biracial living can offer an alternative to the disaster of perpetuating a dual society. The question is whether a transportation strategy should be supported to enable low-income workers to cover the distances to where there is work, or whether it would be preferable to provide housing close to jobs for those who wish to exercise that option. The transportation costs of segregated housing are substantial. Many non-whites must live close to the center, away from job opportunities on the fringes which, in the future, may constitute 80 per cent of all the new jobs available. At the same time, white residents in suburbia travel longer distances to central business district offices than would be necessary in a non-segregated urban society.[12]

Transportation to outlying suburbs has already helped considerably to provide better housing for many people by opening up land that people could afford. By moving out it has been possible for millions of families to find better and more spacious accommodations and to put more money into the structures themselves and less into the land. Consumers willing to pay average automobile commuting costs of $850 per year can realize considerable savings in housing costs compared to more expensive shelter closer in, and they gain extra dividends in space and the amenities.

But should suburban living be limited to those willing to spend the time, money and effort of commuting? Is it necessary to make the suburbs housing developments instead of complete communities, thus separating the places people live from the opportunities to work? The interstate highway system is now being lined with industries at consider-able distances from metropolitan cities, and daily commuting outward has so overloaded the new transportation facilities that in rush hours they often resemble city streets. If all these industrial developments were grouped together rather than strung out, and if housing and other community facilities were built in relation to these employment sites, workers would be offered the option of avoiding long-distance commuting.

If highway and rapid transit programs are to contribute to an out-migration from the slums and to the avoidance of separate black and white societies, their ability to promote plans for regional urban growth could be a key factor. The combined transportation and community building program should make use of modern transport to furnish easier access to the sites where 75 million new urbanites can find suitable living and working conditions away from the congestion of the old cities. What kinds of communities are possible?

THE GLOBAL LABORATORY

Part of the answer is suggested by experience with planned cities throughout the world. Instead of using transportation simply to help accommodate congestion, recent efforts to build new cities from scratch have demonstrated how transportation can be used to help build and provide access to new sites —generally on the fringes of existing metropolitan areas—for whole urban systems designed to resolve both housing and transportation problems.

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[12] See "Race and the Urban Transportation Problem," Chapter 7, in J. R. Meyer, J. F. Kain, and M. Wohl, *The Urban Transportation Problem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 144–167.

"It is the very nature of our urban governmental system—the stalemate produced by the reactive rather than the anticipatory nature of the decision process—that rewards and encourages crisis creation and confrontation. . . ." Because of the inadequacies of our urban political structures, *"confrontation politics has increased in recent years."*

Obstacles to Urban Change

By Peter A. Lupsha
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WE CAN SEND MEN to the moon, but we cannot seem to solve the earth-bound problems of our cities. Why? This question has been asked innumerable times, and answered just as often. Lack of money, indifference, population change, bad government, poor planning—the list of answers is long. Social, economic, historical, demographic, institutional and psychological variables complicate the problem.

One reason we cannot solve our urban problems is that neither our governmental structures and processes nor the perspectives of our urban decision-makers are designed to promote change or innovation. On the contrary, the system of governmental organization in our cities and the repertoire of roles available to urban political leaders are designed for self-maintenance, not change, for gradual incremental growth, not innovation. These structures and processes were part of the attitudes and orientations of the slowly changing world of nineteenth century America. In today's world of flux and transition, they are designs for failure. When values are changing and visions are fragmentary, innovation and rapid adaptation are the only keys to survival. Institutions

designed to retard rather than to channel change cannot solve our problems.

Structural inadequacies in the governmental process in our cities are obvious. In most cities, power is fragmented intentionally. The mayor, the city council, the finance committee or the board of estimate, and the various departments and agencies[1] divide power and responsibility. While the mayor and the council are theoretically responsible for formulating key policy, directing overall development and setting priorities, their power is so "checked and balanced" that it becomes difficult for either to take real policy leadership. For example, any proposal involving new expenditures is generally "checked" by the council and the fiscal committee, both of which tend to interpret their mandate more as a writ to protect the public treasure ("keeping taxes low") than as authority to initiate innovative policy or to support new spending programs. The urban political system was designed so that no single official or branch of government could dominate or control. In practice, this means that the system encourages blocking, vetoing or circumscribing innovation rather than promoting concerted action.

Similarly, the system of interlocking checks and balances requires that the policy-maker spend most of his time and energy checking and ratifying the actions and expenditures of the line departments, answering com-

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[1] This essay ignores city manager cities, since they represent a host of different attitudinal and structural problems and are not typical of our largest metropolises.

plaints about operations, and meeting emergencies. Thus, policy-makers are absorbed in day-to-day operations, instead of having time to plan or anticipate problems or needs, or directing future policy and programs. It is not surprising that the perspectives of decision-makers are limited.

Typical of the processes which limit innovation rather than encourage it is the operation of the city budget. This will be detailed later, but in brief, the process works backwards. Direction and expenditure innovation do not emanate from the policy-makers (mayor-city council); on the contrary, the system generally places the initiative with the department heads, who outline their priorities and needs. The mayor and the city council are thus cast in the role of ratifiers and adjusters, while the line staff essentially "makes" policy. Of course, the mayor and the council generally try to fit the department requests within their vision of policy priorities, but they have forfeited the initiative. Although they are responsible for the whole city and its operations, the budgetary process works to fragment their perspective, screening it through the self-maintenance and incremental adjustment orientations of department heads.

When we look for creative and innovative urban leaders, we find that their hallmark of success is their ability to overcome the system. Their fame rests on making the governmental system work to benefit their people and their cities. There is something wrong when policy-makers, in order to provide creative leadership, must overcome, bend or surmount the system. There is something wrong with the system when a man must rise beyond his role, must be extra-ordinary, in order to begin to solve problems. Yet that is the reality of our cities: the urban system of government is designed for self-maintenance, not change; in this situation, creative problem-solving demands a hero's stamina and cunning.

INADEQUATE ROLE CONCEPTS

The myopic perspective of so many city officials is best illustrated by their conceptions of their roles. The most common role conception, often stated by analogy, is that the city officials are the elected board of directors managing the municipal corporation for the citizen stockholders. Although a poorer model for their role conceptions may not exist, this is typically the concept held by American mayors and councilmen, particularly in smaller and middle-sized cities. This analogy is poor not only because it misconstrues the role of an elected policy-maker, but because it postulates an inadequate role for the job. The "corporate board of director image" defines the policy-maker's role as "keeping profits up, expenses down," "leaving operations and daily policy to the line staff," "not sticking his neck out," and "not making changes unless there is a crisis." This role is designed to maintain the status quo. It leaves program innovation to the line staff and department heads, avoiding responsibility and commitment to systemic decisions unless there is a major crisis. As long as the stockholders are happy (quiet), taxes are low and services adequate, there is no need to cut the profit margin (endanger reelection) by trying to anticipate problems or by investing in changes which increase costs (money and votes). According to this concept, the mayor's time is devoted to overseeing management, ratifying day-to-day operations, and guarding the stockholders' investments. He does not design policy for problem solution or for change.

This role model also suggests that the municipal corporation is competing for markets and profits with its corporate neighbors. Not only does this distort reality, it can also lead to competition when cooperation is needed. (We have all heard of fire departments that would not put out a blaze just over the city line.) Instead, cities should work to establish better intergovernmental relationships. The development of informal Councils of Governments (C.O.G.'s) enable policy-makers of neighboring cities to communicate with and learn from each other. At times, this has led to joint solutions of regional problems such as pollution, sanitation and health; at times it has produced area-

wide agreements in purchasing, providing substantial savings for all concerned.

Consistent with their "middle management" perspective, department heads and agency officials also define their roles narrowly in terms of task performance, often failing to relate their roles to the overall picture of city policy. Their lack of perspective promotes lack of communication, rivalry, competition and non-cooperation among city departments. Whether consciously or because of role perspective, department heads apparently fail to realize or creatively to utilize the way each department impacts on the others. This simply exacerbates the situation, particularly given the interdependence of our urban problem areas. When a city redevelopment agency, for example, constructs 900 units of housing for a large-family low-income population and fails to consider the school needs or to meet with the board of education to discuss available school space, the resulting overcrowding and "emergency" busing can create tensions and escalate problems in every area of the city.

In addition, the limited perspective of the bureaucracy can result in buck-passing and failure to accept responsibility. The bureaucracy basically defines its perspective in terms of keeping things running smoothly —meaning routinely. Thus, it is naturally wary of change, for by definition change disrupts routine. When an urban bureaucracy is composed primarily of tenured civil servants, their fundamental lack of sympathy with change can be reinforced into an attitude of non-implementation (i.e., obstruction) of policy changes. It is not uncommon to hear tenured civil servants declare that, "mayors come and mayors go, but the bureaucracy goes on forever." Such an orientation by tenured civil servants functions to constrain policy innovation. The tenured bureaucracy, which may or may not be in sympathy with the mayor, must often "informally approve" a given policy before it will be implemented.

Many a thoughtful mayor and city council have created progressive policy changes and fought hard for their acceptance, passage and funding, only to find that the tenured bureaucracy was not bothering to enforce them.

It is time to eliminate the civil service tenure system. The tenured civil service may have made sense in an age of immigration and illiteracy, but today it functions to block change and protect mediocrity rather than to serve the people. Continuity of administration and services can be maintained by a number of safeguards, but no bureaucracy should be permitted to sabotage the policies of the elected representatives of the people.

WEAK MAYORS

The very structure and process of governmental operations also work directly to limit opportunities for innovation. Nowhere is this clearer than in the area of policy formation. Mayors, generally, have less power than they need. They must be constantly building coalitions, and they have little time or power (both realistically and in terms of their theoretical mandates) to take creative steps toward policy innovation. In addition, if the term of office is short (usually it is two to four years), a mayor has little time to learn his job, much less to exert leadership and direction, before he has to run for re-election. This does not promote policy innovation and change.

Clearly, mayors need more power and improved capacity for program and policy coordination. Cabinet meetings with department heads should be held regularly and city-wide programs and priorities should be spelled out and coordinated. In addition, mayors should have sufficient staff to draw up and follow through on policy recommendations. Some mayors have appointed directors of administration to oversee departments and general fiscal matters, so that the mayor can devote more time to policy planning. Finally, the mayor should be able to guarantee the full cooperation of his employees in carrying out his program.

Even in cities where the mayor has a sufficiently lengthy term of office, the timing of

official cycles limits his opportunities for long-range policy innovation and reduces his chances for creative risk-taking or experimentation. The first cycle of importance is electoral. The electoral cycle is either two or four years, which means that any programmatic change is constrained, for it must show results before three and one-half years of the mayor's term have passed if it is to have any reelection potential. Any innovation is further constrained if the mayor is new to the job, for it will be six months to a year before he and his staff learn to operate enough of the levers and clubs of his office to generate creative policy, much less to get it passed and implemented. Thus, the desired policy performance span is cut to two years or less.

The second relevant cycle constraining opportunities for change is the budgetary cycle. In most cities, this cycle follows a July 1 to June 30 fiscal year, but in a number of smaller northeastern cities, the calendar year is followed. This necessitates anticipatory borrowing each year, before revenue intake from taxes in the spring balances the on-going expenditures. Such a cycle normally cripples any attempt at creative spending, since energies and perspectives are locked in and wasted in getting out of the everyday structural debt.

A further difficulty is created by the political timing of the budgetary cycle. Although formally effective from July 1, the budget actually originates in the fall of the previous year, when departments and agencies begin to plan for the following year. Their estimates are usually submitted in late winter or early spring. Hearings are held, testimony is taken, and a tentative budget is "approved" by early June. A new mayor, particularly if he has been busy rounding up staff and searching for levers of power, often faces his first year in office saddled with the budget of the previous administration. If a city operates on a line incremental system of simple percentage increases over the last year's budget for each department plus limited new staff and equipment expenditures, it could be argued that it really does not matter whose

budget it is. But if the election indicated a desire for change, and if the new mayor wanted to innovate or reorder priorities, the budgetary cycle might make new plans impossible. Of course, an outgoing administration may attempt to prepare for the new administration and may remain flexible in terms of a "lame duck" budget estimate, but this is certainly not the rule.

Thus while line incremental budgets provide one method of smoothing transitions between administrations, they produce other stultifying side effects. This form of budgeting limits large-scale innovations by stressing limited change within the existing framework. Further, because each department competes each year for a larger piece of a limited revenue pie, the line incremental budget method restricts the development of new solutions for urban problems by directing energy toward competitive infighting for funds, making rivals of what should be the coordinated departments. Not only are the departments made into competitors, but the policy-making branch (mayor and city council) is forced into the role of arbitrator and adjuster rather than policy leader.

The line incremental budget also limits any form of performance evaluation of departments, since there are no mechanisms for checking performance other than the word of department heads or an occasional personal investigation. Where the line incremental budget is the rule, capital improvements are often funded directly from bond issues or from the general fund. This means that basic infrastructure improvements such as civic buildings, equipment, sewers and streets must compete with standard growth and housekeeping expenses in budgetary decisions. The result is that any innovation to alter the city's decaying physical plant, unless it is a crisis item, is likely to be shelved in favor of maintaining essential services. This built-in nearsightedness prevents cities from

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BOOK REVIEWS

ON THE CITIES

THE NEGRO AND THE CITY. EDITED BY RICHARD B. SHERMAN. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. 180 pages and list of additional reading, $5.95.)

The selections in this small book are carefully chosen excerpts from the writings of distinguished Negro authors and from official commission reports. The subjects range from living conditions and education to protest and violence. The time span is from 1920 to the present.

Although most of the passages are available elsewhere, it is useful to have this perceptive selection in one volume.

O.E.S.

URBAN AMERICA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. EDITED BY RAYMOND A. MOHL AND NEIL BETTEN. (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970. 405 pages, bibliography and index, $8.50.)

In the spate of books on urban affairs reaching the market in recent months, a few stand out by reasons of scholarship and good writing. This is one of the worthwhile compendiums. The selections on the cities of the colonial era are of particular interest.

O.E.S.

THE URBANIZATION OF AMERICA: AN HISTORICAL ANTHOLOGY. EDITED BY ALLEN M. WAKSTEIN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970. 489 pages and bibliography, $5.50.)

Wakstein has collected a commendable selection of writings by competent scholars. His introduction to the various sections of the book and his taste in choosing entries make this a worthwhile addition to the available texts.

O.E.S.

TOWARD A NATIONAL URBAN POLICY. EDITED BY DANIEL P. MOYNI-

HAN. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970. 348 pages and index, $7.95.)

Twenty-four experts explore and evaluate what has been done and what can be done to improve urban life in this complex society.

O.E.S.

GOVERNING THE CITY. EDITED BY ROBERT H. CONNERY AND DEMETRIOS CARALEY. (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1969. 230 pages, bibliography and index.)

Papers written by the distinguished contributors, especially for this volume and for a conference sponsored by the Academy of Political Science, discuss the challenges faced by the large cities and the solutions available to them.

O.E.S.

THE NEW TOWNS. By FREDERICK J. OSBORN AND ARNOLD WHITTICK. (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1970. 456 pages, appendix and index, $25.00.)

The authors describe the background of the new towns movement in Great Britain, the towns that have been created and the lines of thought that went into their creation.

O.E.S.

CITIES OF THE PRAIRIE. By DANIEL J. ELAZAR. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970. 514 pages, selected source materials and index, $15.00.)

In a study of 10 middle-sized cities of the Middle West during the period of their greatest growth, the author illustrates some of the political, social and economic trends confronting our urban society.

O.E.S.

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE CITY. EDITED BY MARTIN MEYERSON. (New York: George Braziller, 1970. 382 pages, notes on contributors and index, $6.00.)

The distinguished contributors and the high level of writing in this volume are to be expected in a volume of "The Daedalus

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THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE URBAN CRISIS

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(then a separate city), Jersey City and Hoboken had to be considered as part of the New York complex. By 1900, industrialists were taking advantage of trolley lines to locate their factories outside the city limits where they could buy land much more cheaply. Suburbs became industrial as well as residential locations. The census of 1910 took cognizance of these developments by creating the category of the Standard Metropolitan Area, the central city plus its tributary suburbs.

In the nineteenth century, cities could often annex these growing peripheral areas. In 1854, Philadelphia expanded from a city of about 2 square miles to one of more than 100 square miles. In 1897, New York City added Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island to reach its present five boroughs. Most cities in the northeast, however, found annexing surrounding areas difficult after 1900. In Boston, the ability to annex came to an end much earlier, in the 1870's. As a general rule, suburbs sought annexation when it would give them access to city services like water supply and sewers that they could not finance themselves. When the suburbs decided that the costs of annexation would outweigh the benefits, they fought to retain their independence. Ironically, some of the same home rule provisions that protected the cities from the more outrageous practices of the state legislatures enabled the suburbs to resist political integration with the central city.

As the automobile progressed from a rich man's toy to a widespread luxury to a virtual necessity, the area of potential urban settlement greatly expanded, and housing and jobs became dispersed over the landscape in a fashion that would have beeen unthinkable before 1900. It is important to remember that the automobile did not initiate the trend toward dispersion, but it did greatly intensify the development of more and more land at thinner densities.

The preliminary figures for the 1970 census show that a greater proportion than ever of the nation's people live in some 230 metropolitan areas; and for the first time the number living in the suburbs is greater than that in the central cities. In some instances, the decline of the city population has been dramatic, while the metropolitan area has grown substantially.

The nation's urban problems are most acute in the declining core cities and increasingly so in the older suburbs. The outthrust of people and jobs has left the cities with drooping resources to meet staggering social responsibilities. The cities still have the function of turning rural man into urban man, and "inner city" is the current code term for the poor, the trapped and the deprived. The 1970 census indicates that the United States is moving closer to the pattern of black core cities ringed by white suburbs feared by the Kerner Commission. More intensive analysis of the census will probably reveal that in most of the older core cities, the bulk of the population consists of blacks, the Spanish-speaking, Appalachian whites, and ethnics, second and third generation descendants of European immigrants.

The "affluent society" is a cruel delusion for many white as well as black urbanites, and white working and lower middle class people fear that black gains in housing, jobs and school integration will come at their expense. The affluent can buy their way out of unwanted social situations; most blue collar workers cannot, and not unnaturally resent statements and policies for black advancement coming from those who will not be affected by the changes proposed.

The votes for state and national action will have to come from the suburbs, and as state legislatures redistrict in accordance with the 1970 census and the Supreme Court's one-man one-vote rulings, the suburbs will gain even more seats. It remains to be seen whether suburban representatives will prove more sympathetic to the cities than their rural counterparts in the past. The historian Richard C. Wade has argued that the politi-

POVERTY IN THE URBAN GHETTO
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centive still presumes that the unskilled jobless individual, male or female, can find employment if he looks for it, and that a decent job awaits him when he reforms and makes the effort to find work.[19]

In any event, providing income to the poor can be considered only a start toward solving the problem of urban poverty. In his 10-point program for uplifting the cities, Moynihan has spoken of the need for restoring the vitality of the inner city neighborhoods. This approach might have some validity. One of the positive results of the Office of Economic Opportunity's experiment with Community Action Programs (C.A.P.) has been to spur interest in the community as a source of neighborhood reconstruction. Today, a wide variety of parent groups, women's groups, black power organizations and youth organizations are arousing concern in the ghetto for (among other things) school lunch programs, improved education and better urban medical and sanitary services.[20]

But the city, with its blighted areas, can never be revitalized until it ceases to be a prison for the victims of poverty and racism. This does not mean that a federal outpouring of money for improved inner city sanitation, schools and hospitals is unnecessary. Nor can we disapprove of Moynihan's call for a federal policy to transform "the urban lower class into a stable community based on dependable and adequate income flows, social equality, and social mobility."[21] But concurrent with a program aimed at stable inner city neighborhoods must come a broadening of opportunity for both jobs and housing in the sacrosanct white suburbs outside the blighted core. The freedom to move out of the ghetto into the better surroundings beyond has been a hallmark of upward mobility in the United States. Its denial to black America has been to a large degree responsible for the cycle of despair in the ghetto. Opening suburbia to blacks, even locating attractive low cost housing units in the suburbs and closer to the new industrial parks, will do as much to end poverty as billions spent for slum clearance and renewal.[22]

However, suburban and city planners and politicians must first recognize the mutuality of interests which join their two worlds. Just as the city planners of today measure the cost of unplanned suburban sprawl upon the ecology, so they must weigh the equally high cost of walling off poverty in the city. Admittedly, a revolution in thought is demanded. The prospect of open housing in the suburbs will be greatly enhanced only when the middle class in both city and suburb becomes aware that anyone's poverty impinges upon everyone. The existence of poverty and its concomitant discrimination gnaws at the fabric of everyman's society, and the resultant crime, riots, youthful alienation, and rebellion are all manifestations of this most glaring of the unfulfilled promises of American life.

[19] For a critique of President Nixon's F.A.P. see Richard Elman, "If You Were on Welfare," *Saturday Review* (May 23, 1970), p. 27, and John Hamilton, "Will Work Work?" *Saturday Review* (May 23, 1970), p. 24.

[20] See Daniel P. Moynihan, "Toward a National Urban Policy," in the introduction to *Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Violent Crime: Homicide, Assault, Rape and Robbery* (New York: Braziller, 1969); for an excellent critique of the Community Action Programs see Kenneth B. Clark and Jeannette Hopkins, *A Relevant War Against Poverty: A Study of Community Action Programs and Observable Change* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

[21] Moynihan in *Violent Crime*.

[22] See Nathan Glazer, "Slum Dwellings Do Not Make a Slum," *The New York Times Magazine* (November 21, 1965), p. 54; Herbert Gans, "The Failure of Urban Renewal," *Commentary*, 39 (April, 1965), pp. 29–37.

BOOK REVIEWS
(Continued from page 300)

Library." The title reflects the personalities of the authors. Such specialists as Kenneth Boulding, Robert Coles and James Coleman are not only well versed in their fields but men of conscience and concern. This gives a new and welcome slant to a much discussed topic.

O.E.S.

URBAN SCHOOL REFORM

take on a different dimension. Denied other alternatives to reform, the consumer seeks to reverse the spiral of failure. He seeks to participate in the pursuit of quality. In some cities, the impact of massive failure on both the student and his parent has resulted in a growing alienation to the schools and those who run them. In some urban communities, this results in deep racial antagonism. There is a feeling in some minority communities that the "establishment" is engaging in a systematic conspiracy of non-education of minorities, thus perpetuating their inferior status.

In certain large school systems, the movement toward increased participation has resulted in the development of the notion of decentralization. The new movement toward decentralization is a political movement in which minorities, especially blacks, ask to assume a new trustee role, a new governmental role in the schools in their localities. Decentralization plans are currently being made in Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and New York. The most advanced plan is under way in New York City, where decentralization is taking the form of a "community school system" composed of a federation of semiautonomous school districts and the central education agency. In certain quarters of New York City, for example, decentralization does not provide sufficient community participation in educational decision-making. In these cases, the call is not for decentralization but for community control. Under community control, communities secede from the big city system and assume an independent school district status similar to that of suburban school districts which are independent and responsible only to the state.

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

If we are to profit from the valuable educational experience of the 1960's and not repeat some of the costly errors, a new set of guiding assumptions must be developed for the 1970's and beyond. The educational activities of the 1960's, whether federal, state or local, were based on a set of assumptions developed largely as a reaction to crash programs dealing with the poor, i.e., those classified as "disadvantaged."

The first assumption of the 1960's had to do with the nature of the educational problem. It was assumed that the problem was the student, not the school, the client rather than the institution. With such a diagnosis, it made sense to mount programs of compensatory education. Most of our federal programs of intervention—most notably Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—were compensatory in nature, attempting to stimulate learners to adjust to schools rather than to change the schools.

It was not until the late 1960's that questions were raised about compensatory education. Reports from the field began to indicate that the results were not encouraging. Consequently, any appropriate assumption for the 1970's must shift the problem from the learner to the institution. The problem is mostly institutional obsolescence. We are asking the standard school, which was forged in the nineteenth century, to solve twentieth and twenty-first century problems. The school as a major social instiution does not have the capacity to deal with the diversity of its consumers. Public schools are asked to provide the solutions for many social ills: poverty, racism, alienation, powerlessness, while also responding to the manpower needs of an advanced technological society. In short, public education has been given a mission for which it currently is not prepared. Faced with these growing demands, schoolmen have responded in the only way they could, with an add-on strategy; i.e., building layers onto the standard educational structure. The basic charge for the 1970's, therefore, is institutional reform.

The second major assumption of the 1960's was that more money was needed for public school improvement. While on the surface this does not appear to be a fallacious assumption, it becomes so when more money is used to do more of the same thing. When more

money is used for more reading teachers, more counselors, more psychologists who try to rehabilitate the learner to adjust to the conventional school, then "new" money is being used in old ways. Federal money made available to public education in the 1960's was "new" money which could have been used in new ways.

We have been pouring money into an outdated system and if we continue we will have an improved, outdated educational system.

In New York City, for example, the school system doubled its educational budget in less than a decade. The doubling of expenses produced no significant difference in results. We assume, for instance, that we should continue to build schoolhouses. The Parkway Program in Philadelphia—The School Without Walls—used the elm as a campus and saved the school district $15 million in construction costs alone. The question for the 1970's must be, more money for what?

A third assumption of the last decade had to do with the notion that the only legitimately interested party in education was the professional educator, specifically, the administrator. It was his responsibility to decide how the money was to be spent. However, the 1960's also saw the rise in interest of the parties closest to the teaching front—the teachers, students and parents. The 1970's will see these parties taking an increasing interest in educational decision-making. Consequently, the 1970's must emphasize the role of the consumers of schools—parents and students—as well as teachers and administrators.

All in all, the realignment of the participants in public education promises to produce richer yields for all the participants:

—for the parents, a tangible grasp on the destiny of their children and richer meaning for their own lives.

—for professionals, surcease from an increasingly negative community climate and, even more positively, new allies in their task.

—for the student, a school system responsive to his needs, resonant with his personal style, and affirmative in its expectations of him.

High on the list of substantive priorities that must be given continued support is the development of new kinds of curriculum. New linguistic programs will be emphasized. In reality, in the eyes of the school, verbal aptitude is going to continue for a long while to be the most highly valued asset of the child. Greater research and related programs and curriculum geared to the whole socialization process (the way people grow and develop) of the child through language must be explored. Culture and language, thought and language, identity and language, are areas with which all effective teachers will have to be familiar. Valuing different linguistic forms, whether bilingual or dialect, should receive greater attention in the future.

In addition, the search for humanistically-oriented content must continue and must be legitimized as curriculum for all children, particularly inner city students. This is what the students themselves want most. The black and student movements have signaled the importance of content areas that are not among the traditional domains of the school. A generation oriented to the mass media which has made social injustices clear is asking new kinds of questions about social realities and identity in a mass society. Add to this the problems of racism and alienation, and it is clear that somehow the school must deal with more than just intellect. Educational objectives must reach far beyond proficiency in subject matter to include objectives that deal more specifically with the "skills" of constructive social participation, of negotiation, of expanding one's repertoire of responses to situations, of analyzing the criteria for self-judgment, of expanding one's capacity for self-disclosure, for interaction with and sensitivity to other types of people and to the environment.

Hand in hand with the actual content of education must go continued support in seeking new procedures or processes for putting across the content. Experientially-oriented processes, particularly those in vocational education, must be sought out, expanded and refined. Technical support services, including the use of computers, pro-

grammed instruction, resource personnel, individualized learning, kits, drama and role playing, represent another area vital to the learning process.

The heart of experientially-oriented education is reality. Increasingly, the classroom must be expanded to include the community. Starts have been made in this direction. For example, the Philadelphia Board of Education, in cooperation with the cultural, scientific and business institutions in Philadelphia, has launched a four-year education program for students of high school age. Without a schoolhouse, the Parkway Program makes the learning laboratory the actual institutions in and around the Parkway section of the city.

Support must also be given to programs concerned with new ways of training and accrediting personnel. Even if more relevant curricula and teaching processes are developed, they will have little impact if teachers are not prepared to deal with them. Much more responsive ways must be devised to help teachers. Support must be given for continuous staff development in the schools. Support must also be given to programs experimenting with minority involvement and training for minority group leadership in schools. Community involvement requires the preparation of students, parents and community residents for their new roles in education. Community boards, teacher aids, administrative assistants are only a few of the posts for which minority group training must develop personnel.

Not the least important is the new orientation and preparation of administrators. Support must be given to significant efforts to train black principals and to programs emphasizing that strong executive leadership means a greater releasing of control to the community, to teachers, and to curriculum specialists. The related areas of certification must also be explored. For it may be that what big city schools need are not experts from the field of education as principals and superintendents, but instead key figures from public administration.

Increased support must be allowed for the development of model urban school systems which effectively bring together many of the pieces of experimentation heretofore discussed. Such systems would give us the chance to see what various components look like when put together and to evaluate alternative working systems.

The participatory movement will have reached an optional stage when each and every person can choose the best education for himself.[3] We are moving toward a public school system of choice in which a variety of educational options are offered the consumers —parents and students—and the producers— teachers and administrators. Since the heart of our democratic process is individual decision-making, this ideal will be more closely approximated during the decades ahead.

As a nation we are drawing closer to a common set of educational aims, e.g., maximum individual growth, active, well-informed citizens, career-competent, humanely disposed mature adults. We cannot assume that there is only one means for achieving these aims.

A public schools of choice system establishes a broadened conception of public education for today's society, one which maximizes decision-making for all the parties which have an intrinsic interest in the quality of schooling. The public schools of choice system is based on the assumption that there are a fairly *common* set of educational aims (common to the major parties of interest—parents, students teachers, administrators), but that there are alternative educational approaches for achieving them. The public schools of choice system assumes that the parties closest to the action should be allowed to choose from among legitimate alternatives.

However, it must be underscored that for public schools of choice to work in our open society, there cannot be any practice of exclusivity—overt or covert. Discrimination in the form of race, sex, economics or religion cannot be practiced. When we are able to operate such a public school system, we will have truly achieved educational reform.

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[3] A full length book tentatively titled *Public Schools of Choice* by Mario Fantini, Donald Harris, and Samuel Nash will be published by Random House in 1971.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN URBAN FINANCING

which did not have its genesis in services performed in the private sector. Government grew as demands for public services increased. However, today public services are often supplemented by private activity if people believe that government services are inadequate and if they have the resources to support better services on their own. In many communities, trash disposal, generally considered a government service, is performed almost entirely privately, and national concern about crime is quickly making private security services a multibillion-dollar-a-year business. Other government services can also be shifted substantially to the private sector if concern about the quality of public services is sufficient: witness the recent actions in the South, where many parents have preferred to dip into their own pockets to maintain private segregated school systems rather than comply with integration requirements set by the federal government.

Although private activity can be a factor, and there have been recent increases in such activity in areas like solid waste disposal or security services, it is generally agreed that the public role in performing services will continue to grow. Since World War II, the emphasis in higher education has shifted from private to public universities. Currently, public control of and involvement in mass transit services are growing at a rapid rate. While the alternative is always available to those dissatisfied with government services, private financing will probably not significantly reduce the demands for public expenditures. Rather, these demands will grow and will have to be met by increased resources at the local level.

No one of the alternatives discussed above is, in itself, a complete solution to the local financing problem. Probably every alternative will have to be employed in various degrees to provide funds to support urban services. The only certain conclusion in the financing picture is that massive assistance is needed, and needed soon, if the nation's cities are to remain viable governmental entities providing necessary services to their citizens.

FEDERAL-CITY RELATIONS IN THE 1960's

centralized, coordinated or uncoordinated, if the assumptions upon which programs are based are faulty. The difficulty with most, if not all, federal programs for the cities is that they are not based on common assumptions (or on any assumptions at all) about what it is that ails American cities and, more importantly, what it is that American cities are to become. The very range of programs existing today and the very range of criticisms leveled against them would seem to indicate a lack of consensus among experts on precisely what is wrong with the city and what can be done about it. This suggests, in turn, that a good deal more research and theorizing need to be done before a meaningful battle plan can be mapped.

Within this context, what seems to be most desperately needed is a set of goals for urban America. Once planners, legislators and administrators have a common vision of what cities are to look like in, say, the year 2000, then it may be possible to pinpoint the obstacles or problems that need to be attacked to reach that goal and to calculate the most efficient, most economical, and most humane way to eliminate these. Finally, one could suggest what programs should be carried out by a single level of government and what programs should be carried out in partnership by two or more levels.

Breaking up a problem into bits and pieces may make it easier for the human mind to comprehend, but the results of so doing may be self-defeating because of conflicts and lack of coordination. Only by conceiving the problem of the cities as a whole and by having a vision of what we want to create will it be possible to devise a set of meaningful relationships between the national government and the cities.

OBSTACLES TO URBAN CHANGE

breaking out of patterns to seek creative solutions to their problems. And the key cycles of government operations—electoral and fiscal—reinforce this.

In the 1970's, cities should work to modernize their fiscal structure. Regular fiscal years should be established, capital improvement and performance budgeting should be implemented where possible, and a fiscal master plan should be laid out to account for the long-run needs of the city and potential funding for growth.

For the reasons outlined, the decision-making process in our cities tends to be reactive. The decision-makers react to problems and situations instead of planning for or anticipating them. Such a posture subsequently sets the stage for crisis decision-making. Since decision-makers prefer deferment or nondecision, it takes crises to gear them to action. Crises force decision, rather than deferment, by demanding priority attention. They simplify decision-making by reducing intricate problems to limited concrete alternatives, focusing the range of decisions, and often providing reasons for coercive rather than constructive action. When crisis becomes the essential ingredient for change, urban politics escalates in intensity. Policy becomes a patchwork of limited solutions rather than a set of well-founded programmatic developments. As political actors recognize the effectiveness of crisis in gaining change, the creation of crises becomes a practical tactic and confrontation politics ensues.

It is curious that the media have been singled out for criticism as confrontation politics has increased in recent years. Indeed, the press is not blameless, but it is more an accessory after the fact than the root cause of this political style. It is the very nature of our urban governmental system—in the stalemate produced by the reactive rather than the anticipatory nature of the decision process—that rewards and encourages crisis creation and confrontation as less than a last resort. When the leaders of institutions, be they mayors or university presidents, have creatively sought to anticipate and meet problems, crisis creation and confrontation politics are seldom necessary and rarely successful.

Barring a successful revolution, which seems unlikely in the near future, our urban problems will continue to grow while the capacity of our institutions to deal with them declines. As a consequence, justice, particularly for those urban minorities—the young, the old, the poor and the non-white—is being replaced by order and control. Not strangely, 1970 has witnessed the opening of regularized guerrilla warfare in our cities. Bombings, sniping, nightly skirmishes and full scale "fire-fights" are part of ghetto life in cities like Chicago. Now, more than ever, the critic has the obligation to suggest solutions. Now, more than ever, the structure of our institutions and the perspectives of our policy-makers need to be sensitized to change.

THE POLICE IN OUR CHANGING CITIES

measures alter basic organizational or operational principles: police departments remain firmly in traditional hands.

A truly radical proposal, perhaps of the kind that may eventually be needed, has been made in Berkeley, California. There, a referendum petition signed by some 13,000 registered voters out of a total of 56,000 would allow voting on a city charter amendment which proposes that the city's police department should be split into three "fully autonomous" departments, each under the control of an elected neighborhood council. The proposed cleavages, significantly, would be less along "neighborhood" than race and age lines, for they would coincide with West Berkeley (largely Negro), North Berkeley (largely white), and the University campus district (largely students). The amendment would further require that policemen reside within the districts they serve.[9]

[9] *The New York Times,* August 16, 1970, p. 46.

Such organization of the police would have profound implications for law enforcement, service and peace-keeping operations. Without fully exploring these implications, one would anticipate that enforcement practices within respective neighborhoods would reflect local sentiments as to *which* laws should be enforced, or at least given particular attention (e.g., in the Negro sector, building codes and merchandising regulations). This could lead to explicit questioning of the Anglo-Saxon principle of even-handed law enforcement, but only the naive would claim that at present even-handedness exists in practice.

A scheme of sector-based police administration could mean that law enforcement would become more relevant to each sector's particular needs and values, in open recognition of *de facto* selective law enforcement. As for peace-keeping: the abrasive potential here would probably diminish with policemen "speaking the language"—figuratively as well as literally—of the citizenry with whom they come in contact.

Whether or not Berkeley's voters approve so radical an amendment to their charter, there are now afoot less drastic schemes of police management which may foreshadow a growing willingness to make significant breaks with tradition, seeking to replace older ideas about proper police management which no longer pay off with new ideas.

Item: In Lakewood, Colorado, a newly incorporated city with a population of 100,-000, the customary police uniforms have been replaced with flannel trousers and dark blazers whose embroidered breast-emblems serve as badges. "Agent" has replaced "patrolman" as the title of basic rank, and "agent in charge" has replaced the usual military designation of "captain." These changes reflect the convictions of the new town's young director of public safety that paramilitary police organization is outmoded and that near-civilian uniforms will help keep the agents "civilian-minded."

Item: Victoria, Texas, with a population of

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[10] *The New York Times,* August 26, 1970, pp. 1, 30.

40,000, now calls its police department the "public safety division"; its 60 officers, while traditionally uniformed, are "public safety technicians" and, like those in Lakewood, are no longer designated by military titles.

Item: Syracuse, New York, is experimenting with "crime control teams" of eight men and a sergeant responsible for carrying through investigations of specific crimes from initial call to handing up evidence for prosecution; if successful, this scheme could conceivably eliminate the time-honored detective bureau and provide ordinary patrolmen with the coveted challenges and rewards of investigative work.[10]

It is unfortunate that little experimentation with basic changes in police organization and practices has occurred in our larger central cities, where the need for change is most urgent, but is appearing in smaller cities and suburbs whose police establishments are usually less unwieldy and tradition-ridden. But unless central city administrations are ossified beyond hope, the lessons learned in smaller places could be adapted to larger ones, particularly those lessons relating to altering the suspicion and hostility with which police are now viewed by most central city non-whites and by many poorer whites.

THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE URBAN CRISIS

cal conflicts within metropolitan areas have been and are more important than any urban-rural dichotomy. If this pattern of cleavage persists and suburbanites continue to stress their escape from the city and ignore the needs of its people, then the future is grim. Suburbanites and city dwellers will have to emphasize their common interests rather than their divisions, but the history which has brought about our current crisis does not seem likely to be reversed soon. The traditional cleavages of economic class, ethnic and religious ties proved stubborn enough in a culture built upon the pursuit of private interests. The element of race in a society which speaks of "we" and "they" promises to make urban problems even more difficult.

URBAN HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION
(Continued from page 295)

Planned communities have already been built in Brazil, Britain, Sweden, Italy, India, Singapore, the Philippines and many other countries. They herald the era of urban systems-building that will provide both an escape from the conventional city and a guide to transforming the slums. The world of cities has become a global laboratory in which it is possible to observe urban problems in all stages of economic development under a wide range of city size, density, income and technology. The effect is to substitute geography for history. In the jet age, Americans can see what cities are like without cars, how they function in a non-mechanized environment, what effects various transport solutions have on living conditions, which remedies have worked and which have not.

Britain has led the way with its new towns or expanded old towns, including both satellites and more remote settlements aimed at decongesting the old cities and helping to redirect new growth. These planned urban settlements were made possible through the creation of public corporations responsible for acquiring sites and getting housing and community facilities built. Government incentives for industry and controls over further industrial concentration made it possible to provide the essential economic base and nearby jobs, and the public corporations supplied education and public services in an environment far superior in many ways to the blighted conditions in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool and Glasgow.

In Sweden, Stockholm launched a combined attack on congestion by central city renewal and the creation of urban satellites for housing about 10 miles out. It had been public policy since the turn of the century for the city to buy property outside its borders to accommodate long-term growth, with the purpose of promoting a planned exodus from the overcrowded city center.

In Belgrade, Yugoslavia, the response to central city congestion in the 1960's was to move across the Danube and erect a whole new planned city on 10,000 acres of agricultural land. High-rise apartments of modern design and colorful exteriors were built to accommodate 100,000 persons. Forty per cent of the area of the city was left in park lands, with broad green spaces along the riverfront for museums and public buildings.

The most impressive accomplishment is to be found in Singapore. This city of 2 million people is solving its transportation and housing problems simultaneously through the creation of new communities of 200,000 population and more, in which the nearness of workers' flats to industrial employment has eliminated at least half the commuter problem. Singapore's development plan consists of a network of housing estates or satellite towns in a series of dispersed concentrations built to help reduce the overcrowding of the old city. In the single decade of the 1960's, low-cost housing in high-rise flats was built for 600,000 residents, or 30 per cent of the population. Most of the new housing was located in eight major housing estates located five to six miles from the center, complete with community facilities and local industries. Each community was planned to be partially self-contained, having industrial and commercial employment within easy reach of good housing. The simultaneous clearing and restoration of downtown Singapore were possible because displaced residents had new quarters ready for them in the satellite towns.

The potentials of new urban systems and the complementary roles of housing and transportation may first be exploited on a large scale in this country by New York State's Urban Development Corporation established in 1968, the pioneer public agency in the United States empowered to build whole cities. Plans are under way to create the city of Amherst as part of the campus of the State University of New York near Buffalo. Another new city under Development Corporation auspices is located near Syracuse. A third, on New York's Welfare Island, will be the first completely pedestrian city proposed for the United States.

A PROGRAM FOR THE UNITED STATES

The limits on urban planning were once dictated by lack of adequate funds and appropriate technology. What is lacking now is the freedom to use available funds and technology to best advantage. The obstacle is institutional obsolescence, and especially the outmoded legal, administrative and financial processes governing the nation's programs of public expenditure. The basic problem is the rigidity of road financing policy, notably the narrow definition of the transport task and the earmarking of revenue that binds the country to an antiquated concept of transport need. Most special taxes on motor vehicles and on accessories and fuel are now deposited in a special trust fund to be used for highway purposes only. The conventional interpretation of highway purpose has been broadened by federal legislation in recent years, but is still far too restrictive to support what needs to be done to create communities in which automobiles, pedestrians, high-speed transport, good housing, quiet neighborhoods and a pleasant environment are all made part of one harmonious whole. Many separate programs contribute to the final result, but that result is magnified to the extent that funds are pooled to achieve a total area-wide development. The combining of transportation outlays with housing and related investments is the secret to success, and is applicable to old and new cities.

A program of city building based on today's urgent needs, combining housing and transportation policy, should include:

- The elimination of a large mileage of streets in cities to permit clusters of new housing, industry, shopping, educational facilities, parks and recreational areas.
- The construction of protected pedestrian walkways with escalators, moving sidewalks, electric vehicles, underground parking, and access to transit and expressway.
- Underground transport to make automobiles unobtrusive, to avoid intersecting streets, and to permit the air rights above to be converted to useful public purposes.
- Free high-quality public transportation for the central cities and other large clusters of development.

- The creation of development clusters of housing, schools, shops and places of employment, to solve commuter problems through housing and urban design.
- Elimination of streetside parking and the creation of well designed off-street storage to restore the character of the neighborhood.
- Construction of wide tree-lined boulevards to introduce landscaping and amenities into the urban environment.
- Automated guideway systems for collision-free main road travel which, together with safe design and non-polluting power plants, could save the environment and improve both the way we live and the way we move.
- The setting aside of large areas for planned communities and provision of access to them by highway and transit lines (ground and air) to facilitate rebuilding of the old cities and to guide future growth.

We must seek to bring about a pooling of resources for individual urban projects in large area-wide development programs to rebuild the slums and blighted areas of the old cities and to guide the new growth to come. By spending transportation funds to create an environment in which the conflict between transportation needs and cities can be reconciled, we can break away from the simplistic idea that traffic congestion can be eliminated by increasing the supply of transportation without reference to the community designs that create transportation demand.

The result will be a much more dispersed pattern of cities, including the old and the new. Transportation can be used constructively to promote new housing and communities rather than negatively, and in vain, to accommodate the existing congestion. The automobile, the highway, the airplane, and new methods of mass transportation have made the land for a new urban future available, and large-scale industrialized housing can be built on these sites to fulfill the long postponed promise—a home for every American in a decent environment.

Erratum: We regret that an editorial error appeared in O. Edmond Clubb's article, "China and the United States: Collision Course?" in our September, 1970, issue. Footnote 17 on page 157 should have referred to a 1970 speech by Under Secretary of State Elliot Richardson, quoted by Peter Grose in *The New York Times,* May 11, 1970.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of September, 1970, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.

INTERNATIONAL

Anzus

Sept. 26—U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers represents the U.S. as Australia, New Zealand and the U.S. begin their 20th annual review of international security in the western Pacific and Southeast Asia.

Arab League

(See *Intl, Middle East, Jordanian Conflict*)

Disarmament

Sept. 3—The 1970 session of the disarmament conference in Geneva ends after unanimously approving the text of a U.S.-Soviet draft treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons or launching platforms on the seabed outside the 12-mile limit. The treaty must be endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly and then ratified by 22 governments.

European Economic Community (Common Market)

Sept. 22—The opening round of talks on the entry of Ireland, Denmark and Norway into the E.E.C. is held in Brussels.

Middle East Crisis

(See also *Intl, United Nations; U.A.R.; U.S.S.R.; U.S., Foreign Policy; Libya*)

1. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Sept. 3—The U.S. State Department appeals for a resumption of the Middle East peace talks and says that the U.A.R. has violated the terms of the 90-day cease-fire by deploying Soviet-made missile batteries in the truce zone.

Sept. 4—U.A.R. Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad denies charges that the U.A.R. has violated the terms of the Middle East cease-fire; he charges that Israel has violated the cease-fire by building fortifications along the eastern shore of the Suez Canal.

Sept. 5—Lebanese military spokesmen report the bombing of southeastern Lebanon by Israeli planes for the 2d day. Lebanese tanks and artillery take part in ground action against Israeli forces in the area.

Sept. 6—Members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a left-wing Arab commando group, attempt to hijack 4 jet planes bound for New York from West Europe. The El Al plane involved lands in London after 1 hijacker is killed. After the passengers have disembarked, the Pan Am 747, forced to land at Cairo, is blown up. The hijacked Swissair and T.W.A. planes land at a desert airstrip in Jordan held by the commandos.

It is announced that the Israeli Cabinet has decided to withdraw from the U.N. peace talks on the Middle East until new Egyptian missile installations along the Suez Canal are removed. The Israeli government maintains that the alleged missile build-up violates the cease-fire agreement, but that the 90-day cease-fire will be honored.

Sept. 7—About 120 women and children from the hijacked planes which landed in the Jordanian desert are released and begin to arrive in Amman; about 150 passengers, Israelis, Americans, British, West Germans and Swiss, are still held captive by the guerrillas.

Arab commandos demand the release of Arab guerrillas held prisoner in Israel, Brit-

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ain, West Germany and Switzerland in exchange for the hostages taken in the hijackings.

Sept. 8—Britain, Switzerland, West Germany and the U.S. agree to coordinate their efforts to obtain the release of the hijacked passengers. A delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross, named by the 4 governments as a liaison group, arrives in Amman, Jordan, to confer with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Sept. 9—A British B.O.A.C. jet bound for London is seized by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and joins the other 2 planes on the Jordanian desert landing strip. About 300 hostages are now in the desert.

Sept. 12—Palestinian commandos release all but 54 of the 300 hostages held in the desert. The 3 empty airliners are blown up.

The British government announces that it is willing to release Leila Khaled, an Arab hijacker, as part of a settlement with Arab guerrillas.

Sept. 13—Israeli security forces arrest more than 450 Arab residents of the occupied area on the west bank of the Jordan River and of the Gaza Strip. Israeli sources claim that the arrests have been made for the purpose of interrogation.

Sept. 15—In a stiffening of the Israeli position, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban says that Israel will not participate in any package deal with European governments to free Arab prisoners in exchange for the hostages held in Jordan.

U.S. officials claim that Israel has been violating the terms of the Middle East cease-fire by making reconnaissance flights over Egypt and by strengthening fortifications along the Suez Canal.

U.A.R. Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad says that the U.S. peace initiative for the Middle East is "dead," but he claims that Egypt will continue to honor the cease-fire.

Sept. 16—A new chief negotiator for the Red Cross, Pierre Boissier, leaves for Amman to try to obtain the release of the hostages:

negotiations were broken off on September 13.

Sept. 18—The last of a group of 450 Arabs detained by Israel on September 13 are released.

Sept. 25—Forty-eight of the remaining hijacked hostages are freed.

Sept. 29—The 6 remaining hostages are released in Amman, Jordan. Switzerland announces that 7 Arab guerrillas will be released by West Germany, Britain and Switzerland; then, "for humanitarian reasons," Israel will release 2 Algerians and 10 Libyan soldiers.

2. JORDANIAN CONFLICT

Sept. 1—After an abortive attempt to assassinate King Hussein, fighting breaks out between Jordanian army troops and Arab commandos in Amman.

Sept. 5—Following a night of skirmishes between government troops and the fedayeen (Arab commandos), the government announces on the Amman radio that it has ordered the "pulling back of military units around the capital." The Central Committee of the Palestine commando movement (which directs 10 main commando organizations) instructs commando units to cease demonstrations inside and outside the city.

Sept. 6—The 14 nations of the Arab League conclude a 2-day session in Cairo; they call for a halt in the fighting in Jordan.

Sept. 9—Heavy fighting in Amman is reported; the King broadcasts an order authorizing the imposition of a cease-fire on his army.

Sept. 15—An agreement is reached by Jordanian army and Palestinian guerrilla leaders which calls for the withdrawal of all forces from Amman.

Sept. 16—King Hussein proclaims martial law and installs a military government. Brigadier Mohammed Daoud becomes Premier.

Sept. 18—A statement in *Tass,* the official Soviet news agency, warns the U.S., Britain, Syria and Iraq against interfering in the Jordanian crisis.

Sept. 19—Fighting continues in Amman and northern Jordan despite the cease-fire ordered by King Hussein.

U.A.R. President Gamal Abdel Nasser and the leaders of Libya and the Sudan appeal for a cease-fire.

Sept. 20—The Jordanian government reports that Syrian armored troops and heavy artillery have crossed the border into Jordan for the 2d day.

Sept. 21—Commando forces, reinforced by Syrian tanks, control all the cities of northern Jordan except Amman. Hussein orders a cease-fire in the capital, but fighting continues.

Sept. 22—Jordan puts a price of $11,000 on the head of George Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Arab leaders meeting in Cairo call off an emergency conference and send a delegation of 4 to Amman to confer with King Hussein and Yasir Arafat, head of the commandos' Central Committee. Nine of the 14 Arab League countries are represented at the Cairo session.

Sept. 23—Syrian tanks retreat in the north.

Envoys from the conference of Arab leaders in Cairo announce an agreement between King Hussein and 4 captured commando leaders that amounts to a capitulation by the guerrillas. The accord is repudiated by the Central Committee of the Palestine commando movement.

Sept. 24—About 60 Americans and other foreigners are evacuated from Amman aboard an airliner chartered by the U.S. Other nations are also evacuating their citizens.

Jordan's Premier Daoud resigns.

Sept. 26—King Hussein replaces his 11-day-old all military government with a new military-civilian government. Ahmed Toukan replaces Daoud as Premier.

Sept. 27—Arab heads of state, including King Hussein and Yasir Arafat, sign a 14-point pact in Cairo which calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities in Jordan; the King will remain on the throne, but a 3-man committee headed by Premier Bahi Ladg-

ham of Tunisia will supervise Jordanian affairs until the situation becomes normal.

Nonaligned Nations

Sept. 10—A 3-day meeting of the heads of state of 54 nations meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, concludes. The representatives of the nonaligned nations adopt resolutions supporting the Palestine liberation movement and similar movements in southern Africa and Southeast Asia.

Organization of African Unity

Sept. 1—At the opening session of a 3-day summit conference of the Organization of African Unity, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie announces that Nigeria has become reconciled with the 4 African nations that granted diplomatic recognition to Biafra.

United Nations

(See also *Intl, Middle East*)

Sept. 5—The U.N. Security Council demands the "complete and immediate withdrawal" of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The U.S. abstains in the 14-0 vote.

Sept. 15—The General Assembly opens its 25th anniversary session in New York; Edvard Hambro of Norway is elected Assembly President.

War in Indochina

(See *also Thailand*)

Sept. 3—North Vietnam's chief negotiator, Xuan Thuy, attends the 82d session of the Paris peace talks.

Sept. 4—Military spokesmen report that 1,000 South Vietnamese rangers have moved across the border into Cambodia, 52 miles west of Saigon. The drive brings to 17,-000 the number of South Vietnamese troops in Cambodia.

Sept. 5—The Cambodian Army command reports that Communist forces attacked the town of Saang, 12 miles south of Pnom-penh, yesterday for the 2d night. Cambodian bombers repelled the attack.

Sept. 6—The U.S. command announces that 3 squadrons of Marine Corps jet bombers will be returned to the U.S. from South Vietnam later this month.

Sept. 7—The Cambodian government makes public a Peking radio broadcast which contains the first admission that North Vietnamese troops are fighting in Cambodia.

The Cambodian army is reported to have begun its first major offensive against Communist troops.

Sept. 8—North Vietnamese forces battle their way into a district headquarters south of Danang, South Vietnam, killing 34 South Vietnamese soldiers.

Sept. 14—Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the chief Vietcong delegate to the Paris peace talks, returns to Paris.

The U.S. command reports that American troop strength in the war zone has been reduced to 396,300 men.

Sept. 17—The U.S. command reports that the death toll for Americans in South Vietnam last week was 54; the toll is about half the number reported killed during the same week last year.

In a new substantive move, the first in over 16 months of the Paris talks, Mrs. Binh declares that in exchange for the withdrawal of all American and other foreign troops from South Vietnam by June 30, 1971, the Communists would refrain from attacking the withdrawing troops.

Sept. 18—The South Vietnamese Foreign Ministry rejects as absurd the proposals made at the Paris peace talks by Mrs. Binh.

Sept. 19—It is disclosed that the new ambassador of the pro-Communist Pathet Lao faction, General Phoun Spraseuth, is ready to begin peace talks with a representative of Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma.

Sept. 21—U.S. officials indicate that as of August 31, 1970, 92.8 per cent of the population of South Vietnam was under South Vietnamese government control, according to a revised "hamlet evaluation system" used to measure pacification.

Sept. 22—Cambodian troops attempt to encircle some 3,500 Communists troops blocking the route to Kompong Thom.

ALGERIA

Sept. 13—The U.S. Black Panther party opens an "international section" in Algiers.

Eldridge Cleaver, the party's minister of information, says that the new office is an attempt to establish "peoples' diplomacy."

AUSTRALIA

Sept. 3—William McMahon, Minister for External Affairs, announces that Australia will give Cambodia $2.24 million in aid in 1970–1971; the aid will consist of equipment and, "if necessary, arms."

AUSTRIA

Sept. 21—Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu arrives in Vienna for a 5-day state visit.

BOLIVIA

Sept. 1—*The New York Times* reports that Ernest V. Siracusa, the U.S. ambassador to Bolivia, ordered 12 Peace Corpsmen to leave 2 provinces when it became apparent that foreigners in the area were the prime targets of guerrilla activity.

CAMBODIA

(See also *Intl, War in Indochina; Thailand*)

Sept. 12—The new U.S. ambassador to Cambodia, Emory C. Swank, arrives in Pnompenh; he is the first U.S. ambassador to Cambodia since 1965.

CANADA

Sept. 29—The government authorizes a substantial increase in natural gas exports to the U.S.; U.S. distributors had asked for an even larger increase.

CHILE

Sept. 5—The results of yesterday's presidential election are announced. Salvador Allende, a Marxist, wins first place. Because Allende did not receive the majority of the votes, the Chilean Congress will decide between the first and second place winners in a joint session on October 24. Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez received the 2d highest number of votes.

Sept. 9—Alessandri declares that he will not accept the presidency if it is offered to him when Congress chooses the winner.

Sept. 13—Allende says that he will order the

occupation of factories, offices and farm lands if his political enemies try to prevent him from becoming President or try to cripple the Chilean economy.

Sept. 30—Allende terms unnecessary Christian Democratic party demands that he forego the right to name new military leaders; in effect, he rejects the Christian Democrats' requests for constitutional guarantees of free elections and a free press.

CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF (Communist)

Sept. 7—According to *The New York Times,* recent reports in *Hsinhua,* the Chinese press agency, identify Li Teh-sheng, an army corps commander, as director of the general political department of the Peoples Liberation Army. The general political department supervises ideological indoctrination in all military units.

CUBA

Sept. 17—*Prensa Latina,* the Cuban press agency, reports that Soviet engineers are supervising the construction of an 8-lane highway from Havana to Cienfuegos.

Sept. 24—The Cuban government turns an American airplane hijacker over to U.S. officials; this is the first time that Cuba has returned a hijacker.

Sept. 25—The Soviet Union has been warned against establishing a strategic submarine base in Cuba, according to anonymous White House sources in the U.S. (See also *U.S., Foreign Policy.*)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Sept. 8—Bohuslav Chnoupek, director general of the Czechoslovak radio, is named as the new ambassador to the Soviet Union.

FRANCE

Sept. 9—The Cabinet approves the national budget for 1971. Overall expenditures are to rise by 8.7 per cent. For the first time in French history, more will be spent on education than on defense.

Sept. 20—Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas, a Gaullist candidate, is reelected to a seat in the National Assembly.

GERMANY, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (East)

Sept. 7—According to *The New York Times,* the East German government yielded to pressure at a meeting of Communist party and government leaders of the Warsaw Pact nations in Moscow on August 20, 1970; the East Germans promised to remove some of the restrictions against West Berliners.

Sept. 21—Sung Chih-kuang, the ambassador to East Germany from Communist China, arrives in East Berlin; the ambassadorial post has been vacant since 1967.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis; U.S.S.R.*)

Sept. 4—Indonesian President Suharto arrives in Bonn on an official state visit and confers with President Gustav Heinemann and Chancellor Willy Brandt.

GREECE

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

INDIA

Sept. 5—Following the defeat in the upper house of Parliament of a constitutional amendment calling for the abolition of monetary allowances and other privileges for the former rulers of India, the Cabinet decides to deprive the princes and rajas of their special privileges by executive order.

Sept. 18—The results of yesterday's state election in Kerala are announced. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's New Congress party captured the largest bloc of seats in the state assembly.

ISRAEL

(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

JORDAN

(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

KOREA, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (North)

Sept. 16—In a memorandum, North Korea proposes a confederation of North and South Korea as a step toward reunification.

KOREA, REPUBLIC OF (South)

Sept. 29—The New Democratic party names legislator Kim Dae Jung as its candidate to oppose President Chung Hee Park in the 1971 presidential election.

LAOS

(See *Intl, War in Indochina*)

LEBANON

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

Sept. 23—Suleiman Franpieh is inaugurated as the 5th President of Lebanon.

LIBYA

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

Sept. 6—The government of Libya suspends an annual $24-million subsidy to Jordan.

Sept. 16—Foreign Minister Salah Buysir is replaced by Mohammed Najm.

Sept. 20—The Libyan Revolutionary Command Council says that Libya will act independently to support the Palestinian guerrillas if other Arab nations fail to act.

MALAYSIA

(See also *Thailand*)

Sept. 21—Abdul Halim Muazzam, the Sultan of Kedah, becomes the Paramount Ruler of Malaysia.

Sept. 22—Abdul Razak succeeds Prince Abdul Rahman as Prime Minister.

MEXICO

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

RUMANIA

(See *Austria*)

SIERRA LEONE

Sept. 14—Following the resignation of Finance Minister Mohammed Fornah and Development Minister Mohammed Bash-Aqi, a state of emergency is declared and public and political meetings are banned.

SPAIN

(See *U.S.S.R.*)

SWEDEN

Sept. 20—Premier Olof Palme's Social Democratic party captures 46.2 per cent of the vote in elections for the 350 seats in the newly reorganized *Riksdag*. The Communists receive 4.8 per cent of the vote. Palme indicates that he expects to continue governing with the support of the Communists.

Sept. 29—Final figures in the parliamentary elections give the Social Democrats 163 seats, the center-right opposition parties 170 seats and the Communists 17 seats in the 350-seat Parliament.

SYRIA

(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

THAILAND

(See also *U.S., Military*)

Sept. 2—Deputy Premier Praphas Charusathien and Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman say that Thailand will not send troops to Cambodia, not even the ethnic Cambodians who have been in combat training since July 2, 1970.

Sept. 15—Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Rahman leaves Thailand after a 4-day official visit.

U.S.S.R.

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis; Cuba*)

Sept. 1—*Tass,* the official news agency, reports the appointment of Vladimir I. Terebilov, a deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, as Minister of Justice; the National Ministry of Justice, abolished in 1956, is being reestablished in a stepped-up drive against crime.

Sept. 15—The Soviet Union announces that *Tass* will open an office in Madrid, Spain; *Efe,* the Spanish news agency, will open an office in Moscow.

Sept. 16—The appointment of Vasily S. Tolstikov, head of the Leningrad regional party organization, as ambassador to Communist China is announced.

Sept. 20—King Mohammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan arrives in Moscow for "an unofficial friendly visit."

Sept. 24—The Soviet spacecraft Luna 16 returns to earth, completing the first round-trip flight by an unmanned spacecraft. Luna 16, which landed on the moon on September 20, picked up moon rocks and brought them back to earth.

Sept. 28—The Soviet Academy of Sciences and the West German Scientific Research Society of Bonn sign an agreement providing for scientific cooperation.

Sept. 30—*Pravda*, the Communist party newspaper, says that U.S. warnings about Soviet activities in Cuba are fanning a "war psychosis"; this is the first public reaction in the U.S.S.R to U.S. warnings of September 25. (See also *U.S., Foreign Policy.*)

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

(See also *Intl, Middle East; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 10—Egyptian officials charge that the U.S. decision to sell more Phantom fighter-bombers to Israel is undermining Middle East peace efforts.

Sept. 19—A government spokesman warns that U.S. military movements in the eastern Mediterranean are dangerous and that U.S. intervention in Jordan would be considered a hostile act against all Arabs.

Sept. 28—President Gamal Abdel Nasser dies suddenly of a heart attack at the age of 52.

Vice President Anwar Sadat becomes interim President. The National Assembly is required by the Constitution to nominate a new President within 60 days; he will subsequently be confirmed by popular referendum.

UNITED KINGDOM

(See *Intl, Middle East*)

UNITED STATES

Civil Rights and Race Relations

Sept. 3—The Justice Department files an affidavit in federal court charging that a group of white parents are interfering with court-ordered desegregation in Talladega County, Alabama; the parents have been occupying classrooms in the schools to which they insist on sending their children.

Sept. 4—A federal district judge orders 9 white parents to cease interfering with the operation of desegregated schools in Alabama.

Sept. 6—According to *The New York Times*, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), at its national convention in Mobile, Alabama, this weekend has endorsed a plan for Mobile public schools which calls for "desegregation without integration." In effect, this marks CORE's departure from the civil rights movement's emphasis on integrated schools.

Sept. 7—A 3-day convention of members of the Black Panther party and the Women's and the Gay (homosexual) Liberation movements, meeting in Philadelphia, concludes. The convention was called to write a new U.S. constitution. (See also *Algeria.*)

Sept. 15—Police raid the headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, an arm of the Black Panthers, in New Orleans, Louisiana. The raid follows a night of violence in the area around the headquarters; residents and police disagree on the causes of the violence.

Sept. 18—In New Haven, Connecticut, Lonnie McLucas, the first Black Panther to stand trial for the murder of Alex Rackley, is sentenced to 12 to 15 years for taking part in a conspiracy to murder. Rackley was suspected by Black Panthers of being an informer.

A federal court judge orders the North Carolina Board of Elections to register voters who are unable to read or write but are otherwise qualified. North Carolina election officials have challenged the Voting Rights Act amended by Congress to eliminate literacy tests.

Sept. 22—The Southern Governors Conference, in Biloxi, Mississippi, adopts an anti-busing resolution that in addition calls for a national policy to desegregate all public schools.

Sept. 28—For the first time, a H.E.W. hearing examiner rules that a Northern school district is illegally segregating its pupils; the Ferndale, Michigan, school district is deprived of $275,000 in federal aid because of its segregated elementary schools.

Economy

Sept. 4—The Labor Department announces that the unemployment rate for August rose to 5.1 per cent.

Sept. 24—Following the lead of the Ford Motor Company which announced average price increases of 5 per cent on September 16, General Motors announces average price increases on 1971 cars of 4 to 6 per cent.

Sept. 29—The Chrysler Corporation announces an average price increase of 4.5 per cent on 1971 cars.

Foreign Policy

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis, War in Indochina*)

Sept. 1—Vice President Spiro Agnew briefs the President on his recent tour of 5 Asian nations.

Sept. 3—State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey reports that the U.S. is appealing to the Soviet Union and the U.A.R. to refrain from further violations of the terms of the cease-fire in the Middle East and is urging the resumption of the peace talks.

President Richard M. Nixon plays host to Mexican President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz at a state dinner at which the Mexican President warns that U.S. restrictions on international trade may imperil the Latin American economy.

Sept. 4—Stuart H. Van Dyke, the U.S. representative to the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, says that the U.S. is willing to forego its requirement that all its foreign aid be spent on American goods, if nearly all the other major aid-giving nations eliminate their aid restrictions.

Sept. 8—In a meeting at the State Department, Secretary of State William P. Rogers appeals to Arab diplomats to help obtain the release of hijacked hostages held by Palestinian guerrillas.

Sept. 9—Administration sources announce that the U.S. has agreed to send 18 Phantom jet planes to Israel by the end of 1970.

Sept. 12—A Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee reveals that it cost the U.S. more than $1 billion in the last 5 years to support the dispatch of 50,000 South Korean troops to South Vietnam.

Sept. 14—President Nixon names William M. Rountree as ambassador to Brazil.

Sept. 15—The State Department extends for 6 months the restrictions on travel to Cuba, Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam.

Sept. 16—French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann arrives in the U.S. for a visit with Secretary of State Rogers.

Sept. 17—*The New York Times* reports that the U.S. is considering giving Israel some $500 million in aid.

Sept. 18—Following a meeting with President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers in Washington, Israeli Premier Golda Meir says that Israel will not participate in the peace talks until the newly emplaced Egyptian missiles are removed from the Suez Canal zone.

The Defense Department announces moves by the Atlantic and Sixth Fleets to strengthen U.S. naval forces in the eastern Mediterranean; more C-130 transport aircraft are being sent to Europe and Turkey.

Sept. 20—Secretary of State Rogers calls on Syria to end her "invasion" of Jordan and warns that such intervention raises the possibility of a wider war.

Sept. 22—State Department spokesman McCloskey announces that the U.S. is resuming full-scale arms shipments to Greece; he says that the U.S. hopes for a rapid return to representative government in Greece.

Sept. 25—White House sources reveal that the U.S. has warned the Soviet Union against building a strategic submarine base

in Cuba, following reports that the U.S.S.R. may be building such a base. (See *Cuba*.)

Sept. 26—Following yesterday's announcement by Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard that the U.S. would replace the arms and ammunition lost by the Jordanian army in the civil war, President Nixon says that he has ordered $5 million in relief for Jordan.

Sept. 27—Arriving in Italy at the start of his 9-day, 5-nation European tour, President Nixon promises to maintain sufficient strength in the Mediterranean to preserve peace.

Sept. 28—President Nixon cancels Sixth Fleet demonstrations in the Mediterranean tomorrow because of the death of U.A.R. President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Sept. 29—*The New York Times* reports that American officials, including some intelligence officers, do not know why the White House warned the U.S.S.R. on September 25 about Soviet activities in Cuba; information about a proposed Soviet submarine base there is said to be dated and unconfirmed.

In Italy, President Nixon asks the U.A.R. to honor the Middle East cease-fire; he promises to try to establish good relations with Nasser's successor. The U.S. does not maintain diplomatic relations with the U.A.R.

Sept. 30—President Nixon dines in Belgrade with Yugoslav President Tito; Tito says that peace "cannot be achieved by the big powers alone."

Government

(See also *Student Unrest*)

Sept. 6—A 268-page study by the Office of Education that analyzes the effectiveness in the 1967–1968 school year of the $1-billion pupil-aid program established under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act concludes that wealthy school districts have received proportionately more aid than poor districts and that there is little evidence that poor children are receiving better education under the program.

Sept. 10—The report of the President's Task Force on Model Cities is released. Administration sources reveal that in large measure the President supports the recommendations of the report, which include the continuation of the Model Cities program, a reduction in federal control and increased support by the President.

Sept. 11—The President announces that a corps of specially trained guards will police certain domestic and overseas flights of U.S. airlines in an effort to prevent hijackings. He also directs the Department of Transportation to increase the use of electronic surveillance devices at airports. (See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis*.)

Sept. 15—President Nixon sends a report to Congress which calls for sweeping reforms in economic and military foreign aid; the chief feature of the new proposals is the channeling of development loans through international institutions.

The White House announces that the President intends to nominate Carol M. Khosrovi as the director of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA).

Sept. 21—President Nixon names Lieutenant General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., a retired Air Force officer and former Public Safety Director of Cleveland, to the new post of Director of Civil Aviation Security within the Department of Transportation.

Sept. 22—President Nixon announces that he will nominate Sydney P. Marland, Jr., as Commissioner of Education.

Republican congressional leaders disclose that the President has asked Congress to authorize federal intervention in campus disorders involving bombings or arson.

The President signs a bill which provides one nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia.

Sept. 23—The Senate votes, 60 to 19, to approve a measure designed to limit spending for political broadcasts on radio or television. The measure, previously approved by the House, goes to the President.

Sept. 29—For the 2d time, the Senate fails to end a 3-week filibuster against the pro-

posal to provide for the direct popular election of the President.

The administration announces several breaches in its oil import quota system to alleviate what it sees as a potentially serious fuel oil shortage.

Sept. 30—The 18-member Federal Commission on Obscenity and Pornography recommends the elimination of all legal restrictions on the sale, exhibition or distribution of sexually explicit materials to consenting adults. Five members of the commission offer a dissenting report.

Labor

Sept. 15—The strike of the United Automobile Workers against the General Motors Corporation begins; 323,810 workers in the U.S. and 22,100 in Canada are idle.

A court order is served on leaders of 4 railway unions (representing 70 per cent of all railway employees) that struck 3 major carriers early this morning after contract negotiations failed; the unions instruct their members to return to work. The unions have been conducting a selective strike against the 3 carriers in a wage dispute.

Sept. 18—Under the Railway Labor Act, President Nixon orders a 60-day cooling-off period in the threatened labor strike. A 5-man emergency board will mediate.

Sept. 24—Representatives of railroad firemen and railroad officials agree to extend for 2 weeks the 60-day cooling-off period ordered by the President in July. In the 11-year-old dispute, the union is demanding that firemen's posts be restored on diesel locomotives.

Military

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 8—A memorandum is issued by Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird directing the armed forces to meet future emergencies by calling on the National Guard and the Reserve forces rather than on draftees.

Sept. 15—The Defense Department announces that it will reduce civilian and military jobs at its headquarters staffs by 5,800. The cutback will bring to 13,000 the number of jobs eliminated by the end of the current fiscal year.

Politics

Sept. 8—Former Governor Orval E. Faubus is defeated by Dale Bumpers in a runoff for the Democratic nomination for governor of Arkansas.

Student Unrest

Sept. 2—The Federal Bureau of Investigation begins a nationwide search for 4 young men who have been charged with the bombing on August 24 of the Army Mathematics Research Center on the campus of the University of Wisconsin.

Sept. 26—The report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest is published; it condemns violence from left-wing and right-wing extremists and calls on the President to unify the country.

URUGUAY

Sept. 21—Tupamaro guerrillas attack 7 police stations following the government's refusal yesterday to publish a note received from the guerrillas. The note offered to exchange 2 hostages for imprisoned Tupamaros.

VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (North)

(See also *Intl, War in Indochina*)

Sept. 3—A delegation from the Black Panthers and the American pacifist movement leaves Hanoi with 379 letters from U.S. prisoners of war in North Vietnam.
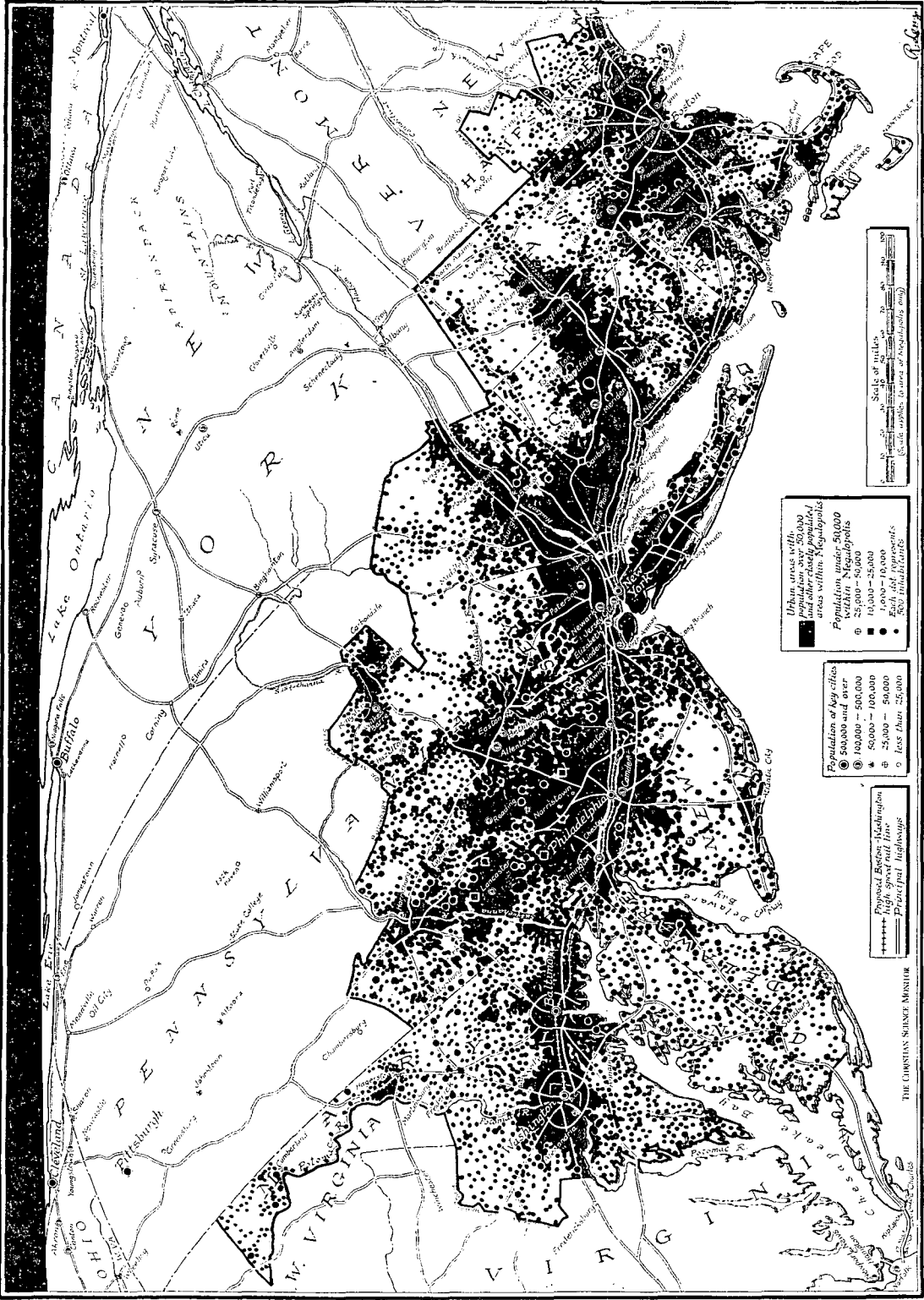
VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF (South)

(See also *Intl, War in Indochina*)

Sept. 26—South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, visiting in Paris, announces his decision not to attend a "March-for-Victory" rally in Washington, D.C.

YUGOSLAVIA

Sept. 21—President Tito, 78, announces plans to set up a Presidium to rule Yugoslavia.

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